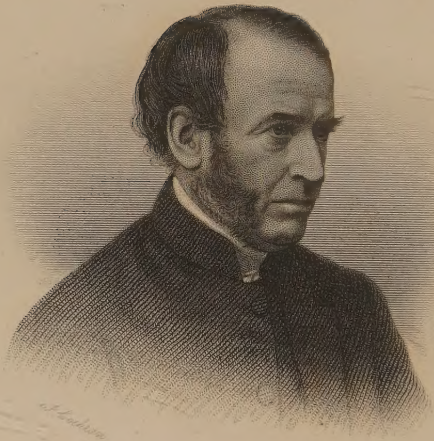
Hubert Brasier,
College of the Resurrection,
Mirfield.



Ever affectly yours
R. Capetown

RIVINGTONS, LONDON, OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

LIFE

OF

ROBERT GRAY

BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN
AND METROPOLITAN OF AFRICA

EDITED BY HIS SON
THE REV. CHARLES GRAY, M.A.
VICAR OF HELMSLEY, YORK

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAP

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I.

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MDCCCLXXVI

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The reader will at once perceive that this Life is only edited, not written, by me; and that letters have been inserted, and things have been said by another, which would not have been admissible had I been the Author.

And here my most sincere thanks are due to the Author of this Memoir for the time and labour so ungrudgingly bestowed upon the work—a labour which I know has been one of love.

Here too I must thank those many friends—too numerous to particularise—who have contributed letters: their kindness has enabled us to put forth a history of my father's work and to state his views entirely in his own words. It has been necessary, of course, to select only a few letters out of his vast correspondence for insertion in the text, yet the many which do not appear have been most useful in affording a more complete insight into the various interests and transactions of his busy life. It is a matter of regret that the work has been delayed, and in a measure marred, by the very late arrival of valuable letters, some of which indeed only reached us when the book was already in the press.

The work itself, as a mere record of a not unimportant period in the history of the Church, will I trust have its due interest for the Christian public.

But more especially do I hope that one of the fruits of this undertaking will be that many an impartial reader—whilst he studies the motives and principles which were so manifestly from the Bishop's earliest years the controlling motives and guiding principles of his life, and whilst he observes those anxious, thoughtful, prayerful weighings of every step which were as plainly his constant life-long rule—will allow some of those mists with which a misjudging world had surrounded him in life to disperse around his grave.

I will only further add, that in putting forth a work of this nature, which requires so much judgment, and which must necessarily tread upon such delicate ground, we cannot expect to escape criticism. Conscious, however, that God's Truth has been the aim throughout, it only now remains to offer all to Him, with the humble prayer that what has been done may tend solely to His Honour and Glory and the edification of His Holy Church.

C. N. GRAY.

HELMSLEY, *Sept.* 1*st*, 1875.

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CHAPTER I.

1809 TO 1833.

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ROBERT GRAY, the future Metropolitan of Africa, was the seventh son and twelfth child[1] of the Rev. Robert Gray, his mother being Elizabeth, daughter of John Camplin, Esq., of Trinity Street, Bristol. At the time of his birth, his father was Rector of Bishop Wearmouth and Prebendary of Durham.

He had been incumbent of Faringdon in Berkshire, and of Craike before going in 1805 to Bishop Wearmouth, and in 1827 he became Bishop of Bristol, the last appointment made by Lord Liverpool.

This Bishop Robert Gray, whose name was to become better known to the Church when borne by his son, lived through stormy days. He was Bishop when the riots of 1831 gave Bristol an undesirable fame, and his calmness and courage in that emergency were such as one can imagine the Bishop of Cape Town displaying under like trial. These celebrated riots arose mainly from the unpopularity of Sir Charles Wetheral, then Recorder of Bristol, who had, like the Bishop, strenuously opposed the Reform Bill. The assizes of October 1831 brought Sir Charles to Bristol to fulfil his ordinary duties as Recorder, when the mob met his carriage, and hooted him all the way to Guildhall, where the court had to be adjourned; and that evening a still larger mob followed him thence to the Mansion-house in Queen's Square. The Mayor made but a feeble resistance, and the mob smashed all the windows, and got into the cellars, where the wine they drank added to their excitement; and though the Mayor and Sir Charles Wetheral escaped, the mob remained bent on mischief. On Sunday, October 30th, notices were posted announcing Sir Charles's departure, and adding: "The Riot Act has been read three times. All persons found tumultuously assembling are guilty of capital felony. By order of the Mayor."

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[1] The Bishop of Bristol and Mrs. Gray had fourteen children :—

Robert, died early.
William, died 1872.
John, died early.
Elizabeth, married George Isaac Mowbray, Esq.; died 1823.
Charles, died 1855.
Louisa, married Lieut.-Col. Brown of Bronwhylfa, Wales; died 1823.
John Edward.
Harriet, died 1832.
Anne, married Rev. Dr. Williamson.
Frances, died 1827.
Henry, died 1865.
Robert, Bp. of Cape Town, died 1872.
Augustus, died 1827.
Edmund, died early.

The 14th Cavalry was in Bristol, but their commanding officer, Colonel Brereton, temporised and popularised, walking up and down College Green amid the mob, fraternising with its leaders; and practically—as it was considered at the time—gave the town up to revolution. On that Sunday, the mob, with whom the Bishop was unpopular because he had voted against the Reform Bill, marched upon the Palace in three divisions, meeting on College Green. Rushing through the cloisters to the Palace door, they forced it open with a crowbar, shouting, "The King and the Bishops." Bishop Gray's butler, (his name was Jones), and the subsacrist of the Cathedral, Mr. Phillips, exerted themselves to defend the Palace most bravely, but they were powerless, and had to escape for their lives. The mob broke into the dining-room, and made a bonfire of chairs and tables, kindled a fire on the kitchen dresser, and put live coals into the beds upstairs, effectually firing the Palace, which they plundered meanwhile. By this time the magistrates arrived with a party of dragoons, and the mob began to fly, but finding that Colonel Brereton would not allow the soldiers to fire upon them, the rioters took fresh courage and set to work anew. They made a fire in the Chapter-house, tearing up the valuable library belonging to the Cathedral, and burning the books; and they attempted to fire the Cathedral itself, and would have succeeded if Mr. Ralph and Mr. Linett, two gentlemen of Bristol, had not effected a diversion; the Chapter-house, being of solid Norman masonry, resisted the flames, but the Palace was burned to the ground. The Bishop, who had just returned from London, was to preach in the Cathedral that morning. One of the local papers reports that several of his clergy came to entreat him to give up this intention, as it was known that the mob had marked the Cathedral for destruction, and, according to the *Bristol Journal*, he answered, "I thank you for your kind consideration of my person, but I am to regard my duty to God, and not the fear of men. It shall never be said of me that I turned my back upon religion." Southey, who was in Clifton at the time,[1] tells this same story. "The Bishop behaved manfully. The mob were masters of the city, and one of the minor canons waited upon him before the hour of service, and represented to him the propriety of postponing it. 'My young friend,' said the Bishop with great good nature, laying his hand upon his shoulder as he spoke—'these are times in which it is necessary not to shrink from danger. Our duty is to be at our post.'[2] The service, accordingly, was performed as usual, and he himself preached. Before evening closed, his Palace was burnt to the ground, and the loss which he sustained, besides that of his papers, is estimated at £10,000." After the service the Bishop drove with his wife and daughters to Almondsbury, a living which he held four miles off (his bishopric being under £1000), and where his son Henry was curate in charge. The Palace was a most interesting old building; it had been the residence of the abbot before the dissolution of the monastery, and from 1738 to 1750 Bishop Butler, who spent the whole of his revenues upon it, lived there. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners sold the site and ruins!

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[1] *Life and Correspondence*, vol. vi. p. 167.

[2] The tradition in the family is, that the Bishop, on being warned of his danger, exclaimed, "Where can I die better than in my own cathedral?"

In January 1832, the trial of the rioters began before Lord Chief-Justice Tyndal. A court-martial was held on Colonel Brereton, who blew out his own brains rather than face it, and on Captain Warrington, who was cashiered.[1]

The second Robert Gray was born October 3rd, 1809. His first school was the Grammar school at Durham, where he went with his brothers Henry and Augustus. The three boys all went afterwards to a school at Hanwell, and when about fourteen he was sent to Eton, where, however, his course was soon cut short by a peculiar accident. Coming out of school one day while still weak from the effect of measles, amid the rush young Gray was thrown down, and so severely trampled on by the crowd of boys who rushed over him, unable to stop themselves probably, that for long great anxiety was felt in consequence of a severe wound in his foot and ankle, and any further prospect of school life became impossible. He had to go about on crutches, or in a wheel chair, and all regular educational discipline was interfered with. In addition to this, his chest was delicate, and in a boyish journal (written when he was about seventeen) Robert Gray says,—"I often wonder that when I was so near death, I never thought myself so far gone as it seems I was. At a time when it was thought I had not long to live, I still had no doubt of a recovery, though not so complete a one as it has pleased God in His mercy to grant me." In the same page he alludes to the affectionate care of his elder sister Fanny during his illness, and the way in which she "impressed religious subjects on my mind, advising me to read some portion of the Scriptures every day, and frequently reading them to me herself; though I was not sufficiently thankful to her, a consciousness of doing her duty must have been a reward to her." One of his elder brothers remembers how great his patience through all this season of privation was. That he had suffered a great deal, and shrank, though submissively, from a renewal of his sufferings, is plainly indicated in the same journal, when, March 6th, 1827, he writes—"This day I perceived a small tumour in my left foot; may God grant that this is not to be a renewal of all my pains and sufferings, which began about this time three years ago. O Father, place not this punishment upon me! O Lord, inflict not this pain on me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as seemeth good in Thy Sight for me. O my God, if this Thy Will is to place these afflictions on me, grant that I may submit to them with resignation, becoming one of Thy followers; and grant, O good, merciful Lord, if such is Thy pleasure, that I may make a better use of these troubles than of those which I have already felt! I earnestly pray that this trouble may be removed from me, and that it may be a warning to me . . . and show me that we never know how long health may last, and that it may teach me to improve my life in spending it to Thy honour and glory, that when it may please Thee to take me hence, I may be received into Thy heavenly Kingdom. Grant these my petitions, O God, for Thy Son our Saviour's Sake." His brothers Edward and Henry helped to teach him during this time, and the former observes, "It is possible that I learnt more than I taught, if not of classics, or the Scapulæ Lexicon, by his example."

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[1] A curious and detailed account of both riots and trials will be found in a book called *The Bristol Riots, their Causes, Progress, and Consequences*, by a Citizen. Cadell and Blackwood, 1832.

Several of his brothers and sisters were also delicate, and Robert Gray's serious impressions were confirmed and deepened by watching the gradual fading away of the sister who had so tenderly cared for him during his long illness. Fanny's delicacy had become so serious that her parents resolved on trying the effects of a sea voyage and a winter in the West Indies. Both Robert and Augustus were threatened with the same malady, and it was decided that the former should benefit by the change of climate as well as his sister. Accordingly, on Sunday, November 5th, 1826, they sailed for Barbados in the "Venus," Captain Phillips, accompanied by their aunt Fanny Camplin, and their eldest brother Edward. Robert's journal, written in a boyish hand, records the ordinary events of a first voyage,—squally weather, sea-sickness, the harpooning of porpoise, appearance of dolphins, flying-fish, or sharks, and the like; together with such equally-to-be-expected announcements, as—"Began to feel heartily tired of my voyage"—"Heartily tired of the ship and passengers too!" "Nothing to do, and very stupid!" On November 18th they sighted Teneriffe in the distance, and the next day, having come nearer, watched the effect of the setting sun on its peak, which Robert Gray notices as "the most beautiful thing I ever saw." Little did he think then how familiar an object that peak would become to him in future life!

"Nothing to do," could at no time have been acceptable to his active inquiring nature, and he began learning to take observations. A list of the books he took with him also indicates that he knew how to make "something to do." Among these are Livy, Herodotus, Horace, Juvenal, Æschylus, a Greek Testament, a Commentary on the Psalms, a History of the Roman Republic in French, besides a medley of books of a general character—Napoleon's *Russia*, *Cook's Voyages*, *Father Clement*, *Decision*, and the *Castle of Otranto*; Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, and Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, etc. etc.

On December 12th the "Venus" reached Barbados, and on the 14th the Grays landed, and went to "Rebecca Phillip's Hotel," overlooking the harbour, till they could find a suitable country house. Various kind friends—Bishop Coleridge, Archdeacon and Mrs. Elliott, etc.—came forward with attentions and hospitalities; and by the help of Mr. and Mrs. Senhouse, a house was taken at Worthing, close to their own abode, into which the party moved on December 28th. Their life was not seemingly a very eventful one; climate was the object, and boating and driving, besides receiving and returning the visits of neighbours, are the chief things mentioned. They were too far from the cathedral to attend its services regularly, and there is a frequent entry of "Read prayers at home, Edward the lessons;" as also of "longing for home more and more every day." Fanny's state must really have been growing rapidly worse, but to her affectionate young brother she only seemed to be some days weaker, and then again in better spirits, as he says they "would be very well satisfied if the cough would leave her." But that it was not to do, and after several days of such entries as, "Dear Fan very weak, and rather worse to-day:" "Dear Fan had a very bad night again, very weak and poorly:" on Tuesday, February 13th, Fanny Gray's illness ended in death. Evidently her brothers were not prepared for so rapid a termination to their watching. Robert's journal says: "Little did I think when I got up that this day was to be closed with such an awful and afflicting event, that this day was appointed for her to appear before her Creator! I arose with a hope that my dear sister's health had begun to change for the better, and that we should soon meet the rest of our dear family in England. When I lay down she was a corpse. This only shows that we never know at what hour we shall be called, and perhaps when we least expect it, may be summoned to meet our Creator with all our sins on our head." And then follow some earnest, though boyishly-expressed hopes that the lessons so startlingly brought before him may sink into his own heart, and prepare him to leave this life as peacefully and trustfully as Fanny had done.

He gives an account of those few last solemn hours in words very fresh from his heart. "My dear sister departed this life between four and five o'clock this evening. Dr. Maycock had left her little more than half-an-hour. Edward and I were at dinner when we first heard she was ill. . . . We were alarmed by her crying out in a solemn voice, 'I die, I die! sin, pardon; Blessed Jesus, forgive and receive my spirit'! . . . Edward tried to console her, and we sent for Dr. Maycock and Archdeacon Elliott. . . . When we told her that she was only fainting, she held up her hand, which was blue, and said, 'What is this but death?' Seeing us cry, she said we must not cry, she was better, and she felt so happy, she should like to die. She repeatedly called on Christ, saying, 'Jesu, my Redeemer, come and receive my spirit.' She asked us all to forgive her if she had ever offended us, and this with an angel's smile on her countenance which I shall never forget; she then kissed each of us, and mentioned all our names, dear papa and mama, William, Charles, Henry, Augustus, her sweet sisters, her dear tiny baby. She then asked if she had forgotten any one. . . . She begged us to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and wished very much to kneel. She then asked us to read her a chapter in the Bible, and hoped that papa would not think she had anything on her mind. She frequently said, 'Jesu, receive my spirit,' or something like it. She said she was sorry to leave us, but that death was so happy a thing, and that she felt quite happy. . . . 'Do not cry,' she said; 'read the Bible every day. Where shall I be buried?' She seemed to think it impossible to go home, but said she would rather be at Durham. She kept continually calling on her Lord, and had a full confidence of being received into His eternal Kingdom. She repeatedly looked at us one by one composedly, and a few minutes before she yielded up her soul into the Hands of Him Who gave it, she said, 'Jesu Christ, my Redeemer, come!' and then repeated the Lord's Prayer syllable by syllable with great difficulty, and in a slow solemn tone. A few minutes after she gave up her soul into Christ's Hands. Her struggles were few, she suffered very little, and died with a sweet smile on her countenance." After dwelling with great tenderness on his sister's goodness and sweetness (among other little trials, he mentions that seeing nearly everybody sit through the service on board ship, Fanny always used to stand or kneel, in spite of her great weakness, till she could endure it no longer), and her earnest preparation for death, the young brother adds, "My prayer is that when God in His infinite Mercy shall call me hence, I may be as well prepared to meet Him as she was." Their kind neighbour, Mr. Senhouse, undertook all arrangements for the burial, and on February 14th, her earthly remains were taken to the cathedral, followed by nearly all the English residents of the place, where the Bishop said the burial office over them, and the next day the coffin was placed in a vault in the cathedral. Miss Camplin seems to have felt her niece's death very deeply, and the care and attention shown her by the nephews is touching. Robert found great comfort in reading his sister's journal, and the prayers she had written for herself, some of which he read aloud to his aunt, among his other attempts at soothing her. The illness was evidently a rapid decline, for they dated its beginning from May 18th in the previous spring only.

Not unnaturally the death of his sister gave greater emphasis to his own symptoms, and to the care his family had bestowed upon him, apparently sometimes to his annoyance. He writes just after Fanny's funeral: "My cough continues; if it should please the Almighty Disposer of all things that I should not recover, may I submit to His Allwise disposals. Preserve me from repining at Thy Will, O my God, or receiving the kind attentions of my dear relatives with ingratitude; but may I look to Thy Hand, Which sends them to me, with lively gratitude, and may these Thy instruments of affliction preserve my heart from being too much engaged with earthly affections: may my thoughts be raised to Thee, and may I earnestly endeavour to prepare for my latter end, and not delay to do anything needful for me to do. If it should please Thine Infinite Wisdom to grant effect to the means mercifully sent for my recovery, may I reflect with gratitude on Thy Goodness; may it produce good effects by the influence of the Holy Spirit; may I never repine at my sufferings, but think what my Blessed Saviour endured for me, and that my corrections are much less than I deserve. . . . Enforce, O Lord, all sincere purposes of repentance, and at Thine own good time, though I am an unprofitable servant, through the mercies of my Saviour's Blood take me to Thy everlasting Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

From his earliest age, Robert Gray had looked to the priesthood as his vocation; as he used to say, "It was the wish and determination of my childhood, the desire grew up with me;" and this season of sorrow seems to have quickened his earnestness and desire after holiness very considerably. There are frequent expressions in his journal of his desire "to resist those sins which by nature and habit I am most likely to fall into," recurring to his sister's advice about reading

Holy Scripture (which certainly became a most marked feature of his after life), and self-condemnation for not having been more thankful for his recovery, probably meaning from his Eton accident.

The immediate object of their coming to Barbados having ceased to exist, the Grays became anxious to return home, and Edward, the eldest brother, busied himself in trying to find a desirable ship in which to make the homeward journey. "The servants are frightened about the season of the year for returning," Robert says; "but let us put our trust in the Lord, for He can preserve us from the dangers of the sea as well as on land, if such seems good in His Sight." Their return in the "Lancaster" was almost decided, when letters came from England saying that very probably Augustus, the sixth son, who was also suffering from a tendency to consumption, would follow in the "Stedfast." Meanwhile, Robert was making sketches of their house, both within and without, and of everything likely to have a special interest to those at home. Occasional expeditions about the island, visiting the sugar-works, etc., and the ships in harbour, filled up the time, until, on the idea of Augustus' coming being at an end,[1] they began really to prepare for the home voyage. It was while waiting for this that tidings came (April 6th, 1827) of their father's appointment as Bishop of Bristol, and a few days later they sailed; the name of the vessel does not appear. "God grant us a prosperous and speedy return!" Robert writes. "Of all things, a sea voyage is the most likely to impress us with a sense of our entire dependence on the Almighty; and we can hardly fail of feeling that awe and fear of Him, when we consider that the slightest accident, the starting of one plank, or the inundation of one wave, may hurry us into eternity."

On the first Sunday spent on board he was distressed at no service being held, nor did he stop at the regret that "this day is spent far from what it ought to be"—for on the following Sunday he seems himself to have said the Church prayers,

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[1] He did go out by a later vessel, and arrived after his brothers and aunt had left the West Indies.

"the ship rolling very much." It must have required some character and fixity of purpose for a boy of seventeen to have done this.

There was nothing specially to mark the voyage. On Monday, May 14th, the Grays landed at Brighton, and the following day they were at the Bishop's house in London, 36 Great George Street, Westminster.

About two months later, Robert, with his brothers Edward and Henry, started for Switzerland *viâ* Southampton and France. His journal mentions stopping at Salisbury—(where, years after, as Bishop of Cape Town, he often returned as Bishop Hamilton's guest, and became well known and much beloved)—and being interested in all they saw there. The journal is that of a very young traveller dutifully following the requirements of a guide-book, and, like most Englishmen (at that time perhaps more than now), rather fettered by British prejudice, and the tendency to compare everything with what is English and familiar. Through all his travels, it is evident also that natural scenery had more real attraction for him than the beauties of art, though he duly records the Cathedral at Rouen as perfect, and "greatly surpassing anything I ever saw in England; and the column in Place Vendôme, which has undergone so many vicissitudes since, as "a grand thing." They duly "did the lions," as he records, and on Sunday, July 22nd, were present at a review held at Versailles by the King, Charles X. "His Majesty appeared riding on a charger, and attended by his court. I do not think he was so enthusiastically received as our King would be on a similar occasion. He is a very pleasing-looking man, and kept bowing and speaking to the people with a very affable and kind manner, which seemed to make a great impression on them. The Duchess of Angoulême and the Duchess of Berry followed in another open carriage, but they were rather stiff and haughty looking." Versailles generally and the waterworks occupied the rest of the day, but young Gray was not satisfied with the way it had been spent, and adds—"I hope not to spend such a roaming Sunday again while in France, as it is a day for quiet and prayer, not for seeing sights." Mr. Thomas Gray, a cousin living at Lausanne, met the young men in Paris, and they went back with him, spending four days in diligence-travelling. They remained with Mr. and Mrs. T. Gray, seeing all that was most noteworthy in Lausanne and its neighbourhood—Gibbon's house, of course, included, "where he wrote his Roman History, and the very room in which he finished it;"—after which, with their cousins, they made a tour in Switzerland. The descriptions of Vevay, Chillon, Berne, Schaffhausen, Zurich, etc., are much what any quite young traveller might give. In the latter place he seems to have been specially interested in Lady Jane Gray's autograph Latin letters to Bullinger preserved in the public library, observing that "the signing her name *Joana Graia* is a proof it was Gray, and not Grey as most people spell it." Even in those days part of the orthodox "doing" Switzerland required an ascent of the Rigi, and accordingly the young Grays went from Zug to "the highest inn at the very top of the hill," where, as Robert avers, "our rooms are wretched and everything bad. The view is extremely grand; fourteen lakes to be seen, besides nearly all Switzerland, but as it got dark and a fog came on, we could see but little, and I went to my dungeon early." Like many other unfortunate tourists, they awoke to so thick a mist the next morning that they could see nothing, and went down to Weggis, taking a good deal on trust. They then went by the Saint Gothard and Grimsel to Meyringen, thence by Interlachen, Thun, and Friburg, back to Lausanne; a little later going to Chamouni, Mont St. Bernard, Aosta, Cormayeur, and by Martigny back to Lausanne.

While at Lausanne (September 21st), the Grays heard that their brother Augustus was increasingly ill, and on reaching Bristol on October 6th, "the countenances of the family foreboded some misfortune, which proved too sadly true in the death of our dear Augustus. It has pleased God to try and afflict us with misfortunes,—so shortly after the death of a beloved sister, a dear brother is taken from us. May this be a warning to us how to spend our days, and teach us to watch and pray lest we enter into temptation. He died about half-past two o'clock on Wednesday 3rd of October—my birthday—

surrounded by his relations. God grant that he may now be enjoying eternal happiness in His heavenly kingdom. Augustus seems to have been perfectly aware of his approaching end, and to have made up his mind to it. His decline must have been rapid from the time we left, and he seems to have borne his illness and sufferings with that patience and resignation which becomes a true disciple of Christ. Such afflictions as we have had lately seem to be a warning to lead a more holy and more religious life; and I pray God's assistance to enable me to do so, especially at this time when I am entering on a life exposed to temptations every day, where there is every facility and every encouragement to vice and wickedness. To think of this is dreadful, but with God's help I hope to avoid it, and escape untainted."

October 10th.—"This morning we paid the last respects to the remains of our dear Gus. He was laid in a vault in the churchyard. This ceremony is awful, but admirably calculated to inspire religious feelings. Lord W. Somerset said the funeral service in a feeling manner."

The fresh life of temptation to which Robert Gray was about to be exposed was his university career.[1] He went up to University College, Oxford, in October 1827. His health prevented his fitting himself for honours, but he went in for a pass, and got an honorary fourth (1831), which he hardly accepted with pleasure, as it was the first introduction of such an honorary degree, and he fancied it would look as if he had gone in for honours and failed.

In September 1831 he started for a tour in Italy, which occupied rather more than a year, and which was evidently time most diligently and conscientiously spent. His journals have advanced from the earlier ones, as in formed handwriting, so in style; but they are chiefly a *resumé* of guide-book information, and save here and there do not give very much indication of his own mind and character, which, however, were evidently forming and moulding no less than more external things. There are, however, many exceptions to this absence of personal expression in the journals. On first starting (doubtless, having the early death of so many of his family in mind), he writes almost sadly of the changes which may come before his return. These forebodings were fulfilled, and before Robert Gray reached home, another sister, Harriet, was laid in her grave. All the time he was away his letters to his family at home, especially to his sisters, to whom he was most affectionately attached, were regular and full. His first letter on arriving at Paris, September 17th, 1831, announces that "The first thing we heard on our arrival was the news of the capture of Warsaw, in the fate of which city the inhabitants of France seem much to sympathise, and to take shame to themselves for having rendered no assistance." And in his journal he says that "there was a great tumult in the streets, which entirely prevented our reaching the hotel we intended, and we were obliged to put up at the Hôtel de Calais, Rue Montmartre, where we were wretchedly served and grossly cheated. The streets of Paris were guarded during the night by troops of the line and the Garde Nationale, both of which kept parading up and down our street till a late hour; forty persons arrested this evening. *Sunday, October* 18.—Took up my quarters at the Hôtel des Etrangers. Attended service at the ambassador's chapel. Walked about the town till late with an officer of the legion of honour. Rows again in the streets, and troops out all night. Was quite disgusted with the way in which Sunday is kept, or rather is not kept, in Paris. Labourers at work in the public buildings and warehouses, shops open, and gambling of all sorts to a great extent, and without any difference that I can see from the mode of spending any other day. I understand that Charles X. made them shut their shops on Sunday, and I certainly do not recollect such an utter want of decency when I was here before. Can a nation expect to prosper when such a violation of God's law is openly allowed? *Monday, October* 19.—Seeing public buildings . . . Their new churches are very handsome. A Frenchman, showing me one of the finest, said, "Write in your journal *Opera de la Madeleine* when you get home; it is as likely to be that as a church."

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[1] One of his friends and companions (the Rev. H. B. Carr) writes . . . "Gray was living among a graver and steadier set of men, for University College in those days was anything but a quiet sober seat of learning. But the gravity and solidity of his character even then made a deep and lasting impression upon my mind. His chief companions were men of similar stamp with himself . . . Archdeacon Clarke was one, William Boyd of Arncliffe, Ashton Oxenden (now Bishop), and John Burdon of Castle Eden."

"*October 21st.*—Paris is a little more quiet to-day, but as far as I am able to judge, France will not remain long as it is. A licentious and revolutionary spirit pervades the middle and lower orders, and I think they but ill disguise their wishes for a republic. Every man seems to think that he has a right to share in the government. I fear a crisis is at hand; and now that religion but little occupies their thoughts, there will be but little principle, I think, to withstand the most daring acts."

Writing to his sisters from Geneva a few days later, he dwells on the same subject: "You would be surprised at the opinions you hear openly avowed by almost every one you meet with. The licentious and revolutionary spirit shown by every one is disgusting. The peers are held up as objects of contempt and detestation in the theatres and in common conversation; the *Vox populi, vox Dei,* is ever in their mouths. In the streets you are stunned with their songs composed on the late Revolution; on all the public buildings anything that bears marks of royalty has been effaced, such as Bibliothêque du *Roi;* Timbre *Royal;* even the name of the Rue de Bourbon has been changed, that the majesty of the people may not be offended! The tricoloured flag waves on every church steeple throughout the country, on the inns, public buildings, etc., and a huge tree of liberty planted in every village that I have seen. The Garde Nationale appear a fine body of men, and I believe there are 80,000 in Paris. That they are useful is sufficiently shown by the hatred the mob expresses against them, and they are all, I believe, respectable citizens, who have an interest in keeping the peace. The companions of my journey were good-natured fellows, but complete revolutionists. Every one here seems to hope that the Bill [Reform] will pass, because they think it will destroy the aristocracy, which they believe to be as bad as their own. . . . At Dijon we stayed twelve hours, which gave me an opportunity of seeing what was worth looking at. The Cathedral has nothing remarkable but a curious twisted spire. The Bishop here is very much beloved, and I remarked that there were many more people in private prayer in the churches of Dijon than anywhere that I had been; perhaps this may be owing to the exertions of their Bishop, Dubois, who is a very good man, and does not mingle in politics. . . . I find myself very deficient in French, and regret much that I never made more a study of it: detached sentences are easily enough managed, but when I get into the labyrinth of a conversation, I feel the difficulty, and am often aware that I must be talking nonsense, or at best make myself but half understood. My plan, however, is to talk with every one who will listen to me, setting all grammar at defiance, and unabashed at my numerous blunders. . . . I have just been making a fruitless search for Robertson [the friend whom he expected to join]. . . If I do not hear from you soon, and see nothing of him, I shall proceed on to Italy solus, or join other travellers, of whom numbers of all nations are going daily. If my father should wish Edward to come out, I can wait for him here, at Lausanne, or Milan. If not, I am not at all afraid of going alone. Of course I should enjoy his company very much, and I think, as he has so long wished to come, he might as well have that enjoyment as myself, for he has had but little in the shape of pleasure of late years. I have written a very tedious, long, and egotistical letter, but of course I can write to you of little else but what I see and think. I shall not be sorry to have a concise view of politics when you write."

September 28th found Robert again the guest of his hospitable cousins at Lausanne, the beauty of which place, or rather of the views from it, struck his riper taste much more forcibly than when there before. After expatiating on their beauty, he says: "Those who are not alive to scenes of nature such as this are not to be envied; they lose one of the purest and most rational sources of pleasure. For my own part I never view these stupendous works of the Creator, without a feeling of awe at the omnipotence of Him Who designed them, and gratitude when I reflect that for man's enjoyment they were made. . . . Were I a man of independent fortune, and could so far compound with my conscience as to enter into no profession, and be of no use to the world, that is solely to have an eye to my own selfish enjoyment, I would choose this spot to end my life in."

The young man remained some time with Mr. and Mrs. T. Gray, while waiting for his friend Mr. Robertson, making various expeditions in the neighbouring country, and entering with increasing interest into the various subjects which opened upon him. What he saw and heard of religion in Switzerland did not impress him favourably. "The accounts which one hears of the state of religion in Geneva are dreadful. The Professor[1] here told me that the doctrine of the established clergy was nothing but 'natural philosophy.' Several deny the Trinity and Christ, and do not receive the Bible as an authority."

He read a good deal of French too, Racine, etc., and made a beginning in Italian; and among notes of books, in a little paper book of this period we find Rodriguez on *Spiritual Perfection*, and the *Spiritual Combat*, which very probably he was trying to read in Italian—books eminently calculated to quicken and deepen the more and more earnest spiritual life which was growing with him. His twenty-second birthday was spent at Lausanne, and it seems always to have been his habit to make a kind of review of his spiritual state as these anniversaries came round. This year he writes—

"Another year has by a merciful God been added to my life, and yet I fear that on reflection I shall find that it has been spent in as bad a manner, or worse, than many of the preceding;—that my religious feelings have not been on the increase, that I have not controlled my passions, or kept my thoughts in due subservience to the dictates of reason or Christian precepts; that I have neglected to profit by the example of others, and warnings offered to myself; that I have not been sufficiently circumspect in my conduct for one destined in all probability to the sacred office of the Ministry; that I have been ungrateful for mercies received, and have repined at having other blessings withheld from me;—in short, that I have sadly abused my time, and have by no means spent it as I shall wish I had done when I come to die. Convinced that all these and numberless other sins attach to me, let me endeavour for the future to have a more strict guard over my thoughts, words, and actions; and let me endeavour, with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, seriously to set about the great work of preparing myself for that time when I shall look back with contrition and self-accusation on my years of folly and crime. Let me think of the joys and pleasures of this world as of secondary importance to him whose whole occupation and profession will be to wean the souls of others from too great an indulgence in them."

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[1] Professor Levade (of Theology) and his son-in-law, the Hebrew Professor in the Academy of Lausanne, frequented Mr. Thomas Gray's house. The former had been the friend of Gibbon, Kemble, Necker, Madame de Staël, etc.; and Robert Gray describes him as "a delightful and interesting old man."

On October 27th, 1831, Robert left his cousins and went to Geneva, where Mr. Robertson had at length arrived. They settled that he should go to the Italian Lakes, and meet Mr. Robertson again at Milan. He writes to his sister—

"*Geneva, November 2nd,* 1831.—My dearest Annie . . . I have been staying with Thomas for several reasons. In the first place, I knew my father disliked the idea of my going into Italy by myself, and I had no news of Robertson for near a fortnight from the date of my last letter. We have, however, settled now our future plans in some respects, though I own his idea of seeing Italy in the best way differs somewhat from mine. As, however, we both want to see it in the most effectual manner, and in the shortest time, we have little chance of falling out. I shall trust to find good accounts of dearest Harriet at Milan. I think she would enjoy herself very much in this part of the world. The weather has been very mild, and she would have had grapes to her heart's content in Thomas's vineyards. His Campagne is beautifully situated, and he has made a very good and handsome house. I did not entirely lose my time there, for his sister-in-law gave me a French lesson daily, and I also took a few Italian ones.

"Geneva is, and has been for some time, disturbed by religious differences. I am afraid it is too true that the established church here is Deistical; all of the Clergy, I believe, deny Jesus Christ and the Trinity—they are, however, supported by all the liberals, and the Methodists are much abused. I heard one of these latter [1] preach last Sunday, and he insisted on the doctrine of Grace in the fullest extent. Will you tell my father that I called on Mr. Hubert, and saw Mrs. Hubert, with whom I left his 'Connection,' [2] for which she desired me to thank him. While I was at Lausanne, Gibbon's library, consisting of upwards of 7,000 volumes, was sold for £1,000, in three lots. Thomas took me, while I was with him, several short tours in the Canton du Vaud, which I think I know better now than my own county of Durham. I know not what to think of the affairs of the world in general, but from all I can judge, Italy appears to be as safe a retreat as any. I am grieved to see the depravity of the public press in England, and cannot conceive why so base and unfounded an attack should be raised against the Bench of Bishops and Church of England in general. I really hate to think of the future. Since I have been here I have been to Ferney (Voltaire's chateau). It is about sixty years since he died, and his rooms remain untouched—the monument he reared for himself, the picture he designed, and the inscription he wrote, are all illustrative of his vanity. Two of his old servants still live there, and they tell many stories about him, but not one good trait did they mention. . . . The English swarm here as much as ever, and bring all their amusements with them; horses, carriages, and dogs, in abundance; they have also been acting some of Shakespeare's plays, which they got up very tolerably. Colonel Bradyl, who acted Falstaff, is supposed to be one of the best amateur players ever known. . . . Give my best love to dear father, mother, etc. My father, I suppose, will go to London again to vote against this equally extensive measure. I trust the people of Bristol did not act as in some other dioceses, by insulting their Diocesan."

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[1] This was the well-known M. Malan. In his Journal R. Gray mentions the same, adding—"It was on grace and salvation, and he seemed to insist strongly that Christ *had* saved the whole world, and that we had no conditions to fulfil on our part."

[2] *The Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature*, one of the Bishop of Bristol's works. He published various other books—a series of *Bampton Lectures*, and other sermons; a *Key to the Old Testament*, long used in examinations for Orders; *The Theory of Dreams*, etc. etc.

November 5th, young Gray started one of a party filling a vetturino carriage, his companions being some East Indian officers. They crossed the Simplon, visiting the Borromean Islands, and arriving at Milan on the 11th. Here he lionised diligently, heard Grisi sing at the Scala, and evidently began to visit churches from a different point of view to that which had hitherto come before him. At High Mass on Sunday, in the Cathedral, he was struck with the congregation as more devout than any he had yet seen on the Continent; and in the afternoon he was edified by hearing a "church *full* of all ages, even more grown up than young, catechised;" observing that "in this manner of catechising and instructing adults, they certainly beat us."

It was at Milan, that, looking over the English papers, Robert learnt first of the riots which had taken place in connection with the Reform Bill at Bristol, in which the Bishop's Palace was burnt down by the mob, "as a reward for voting according to his conscience" his son says indignantly. The same papers relieved his mind as to his father's safety, by announcing the Bishop's arrival in London, but it was startling news, and that day Robert found no letters for him at the post-office. "May God preserve my country from the designs of evil-minded men," is that day's entry in his journal; and on the next he received "a letter from my dear mother, giving a detailed account of all the outrage at Bristol, and informing me of the safety of all the family. At no time do the different individuals appear more endeared to you than when you are in doubt as to their personal safety. For the property I care but little, now that I have heard that they have themselves escaped. The excesses appear to have been greater than any for the last half-century. I look with anxiety for further particulars." Writing soon after to his sister Annie, he says—"My dear mother's letter came most seasonably to relieve my apprehensions with regard to the safety of your persons, as the paper only announced the destruction of everything. I thank God that you all escaped, and that among so many lives lost not one of you were injured. It is dreadful to contemplate the crimes and outrages that have been committed by those whose only accusation against their rulers can be that they have left them in the same state of happiness and freedom as they have enjoyed for the last few centuries. The cholera, I am happy to see, is subsiding. If it should spread, however, had you not all better emigrate to Italy, now that the Palace is gone?"

This was written from Venice, where young Gray, Mr. Robertson, Colonel Burton, and Captain Rudiman, had gone together by vetturino, starting November 16th. They had a rough journey, and were kept in constant alarm about robbers —a vetturino had been shot not many days before, and their driver was afraid of halting in the villages. The travellers lionised Cremona, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, but always under the thraldom of a cicerone; and the consequence is, that much of Gray's information is of the regular valet-de-place stamp. They left their carriage at Mestre, and went in a gondola to the Leone Bianco, and spent a week there in steady sight-seeing. Perhaps an artist would scarcely accept some of Robert Gray's opinions and criticisms, but he himself says in a letter, "We have been lionising hard. I have in vain laboured to make myself acquainted with the different styles of their best painters, but conclude with the conviction that nature never intended me for a connoisseur in that line!" From Venice the party went by Monselice, Rovigo, Ferrara, and Bologna (where again the party seem scarcely to have appreciated the art treasures, while conducting operations "on the usual plan of lionising with a valet-de-place"), to Florence. Here again the journal smacks throughout of the observations of the cicerone to whom Gray committed himself; he worked diligently on at pictures and statues, palaces and churches, sometimes impressed by a religious service, sometimes hazarding conjectures and conclusions more or less crude, but, on the whole, evidently learning a great deal, and always showing a thoughtful good mind at work.

They next went to Leghorn and Pisa, where they "took a valet-de-place as usual, to proceed in the dull business of killing the lions;" and Gray virtuously records the height of the Leaning Tower, and the like; and on December 18th he and Mr. Robertson started for Rome, this time by courier, having had enough for one while of vetturino. Passing through Sienna, Radicofani, etc., they reached Rome in forty hours, on December 22nd.

They soon got established in comfortable lodgings, under the guidance of a friend, Captain Heman, and, contrary to modern experience, found both lodgings and food cheap. On the morning of Christmas Eve, they went to the Sistine Chapel, and heard the Pope say mass. Apparently they knew no more of the midnight services than that the country people assembled to see the cradle at Santa Maria Maggiore, and as they were told that this was "about three in the morning, I shall not trouble my head about it!" Gray says they went to St. Peter's on Christmas Day, but again without information or explanation as to what went on, and came away with but confused ideas on the subject.

January 1st, 1832, was begun by receiving the Blessed Sacrament at the English Chapel, and Robert records his earnest prayer that the resolutions then formed may be steadily adhered to through the year; "and at the close of it may I not have to look back, as I now do, on a year spent in folly and ingratitude to God. . . . Before another year is passed, eventful points of my life will most probably be settled, and in all probability before the close of it I shall be a minister of God's Holy Word. How careful, how much more so than I really am, ought I to be, that my conduct may be conformable thereto."

Every one who is acquainted with Rome can tolerably well fill up the outline of young Gray's stay there. Ruins, galleries, palaces, statues, pictures, villas, studios, catacombs, Campagna, services, ceremonies, dinner parties, occasional balls at Torlonia's the Embassies, and elsewhere, and soirées of a more literary character at Horace Vernet's (then head of the French Academy), etc. It was the usual round of most intelligent young Englishmen: lionising most conscientiously performed and regularly recorded, Italian lessons diligently taken of old Armellini (a name familiar for many years to the visitors in Rome), and probably, as in many cases, more learned in the way of general refining and brightening the taste and intellectual faculties, than any great knowledge of art acquired. Writing to his sisters, Robert described the life he was leading as "the same routine of lionisation—ruins, churches, and palaces—the subject is inexhaustible, and I find that I shall have barely time to kill all the lions in the two months I have fixed to remain here. . . . We still continue to study the language with our master, and make as much progress as we can expect, but there is no great opportunity here of speaking it. . . . I have met some pleasant Roman Catholic priests here, and they are very candid in all they say."[1]

The practical matters of actual life always seem to have a more real interest for Robert Gray's warm heart and energetic mind: he writes with keen earnestness about the Reform Bill at home, and about Italian politics, concerning which latter he probably was not able to form much original opinion, but fell in with those of intelligent persons around. He had looked forward with considerable interest to the Carnival, but that year (1832) was acknowledged by all to be only the wreck of a Carnival, and he was disappointed, though nevertheless one day the Journal records as follows—"entered a carriage, and having purchased a good store of lime [he means *confetti* of course] and sugar-plums, amused myself with overwhelming my friends, and being nearly smothered myself, with showers of lime; those in the windows above us assailed us, without any possibility of our avenging ourselves."

On February 28th Gray and Robertson started for Naples. "There are a great many young English here," he writes to his sister, "and they all seem making for Greece, the tour of which they prefer to meeting the cholera in England. Were I at liberty to do so, I think I should swim with the stream. Robertson has some thoughts of going on, and has begged me very earnestly to accompany him. It is not impossible he may leave me at Naples, and after visiting Greece and Constantinople, go over by land to Vienna." It does not appear exactly why Gray was unable to accompany his friend, but probably his father did not wish it, and through all his early days, the most marked deference to his father's wishes is always to be traced. The journey to Naples was uneventful. Of course Robert Gray notices the Via Appia, and the Three Taverns mentioned by S. Paul; the Pontine Marshes which he says "are not near so dreadful in appearance as all descriptions make them;" Terracina with its beautiful site, Capua and Mola di Gaeta.

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[1] Years after, Bishop Gray wrote of this winter at Rome as "the pleasantest in his life."

They found a gayer Carnival going on in Naples than that of Rome, the King (whom he describes as seeming "a jovial good sort of fellow, and up to any sort of fun") and royal family, taking their full share in it. . . . The two young men found lodgings at 23, Chiatamone, and seem to have enjoyed the lovely view from their dwelling with great zest. Again the process of "killing the lions" began; but it is evident that Vesuvius, which they ascended both by day and night, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Pozzuoli and Baiæ, and such out-of-door expeditions, had more real attraction for Robert Gray than the study of art. There were some experiences more removed from the ordinary routine, as when one day, on his way to the post-office, he was horrified by a murder committed at his side, one soldier stabbing another in the open street. Occasionally he went to hear some Italian preachers, and was not generally pleased. Still he remarks on one occasion: "I think we might do a great deal of good by imitating these *istruzioni;* reading, for instance, a chapter of the Bible, and illustrating and explaining it, so as to suit the meanest capacity. It is pleasing to see how attentive the people are, and eager to hear the comments of the priests; who are, however, a little too fond of mixing a certain portion of humour with their more serious explanation. This custom, however, of blending amusement with instruction always insures them a good congregation."[1] "*March* 21*st.*—A sermon at the church of the Jesuits. Subject the 'Day of Judgment.' Manner of the preacher, though very theatrical, is yet striking and forcible, and has perhaps more effect on the lower classes than a more quiet one would have. It was a complete acting a tragedy, and he spoke successively in the person of the Deity, the Virgin, Angels, and sinners. It had its effect on the audience, many of them sobbed loudly. He ended somewhat strangely. After having described the fate of sinners of every degree, 'You will very naturally ask me what will be my fate, who am thus teaching you?' and then, falling on his knees, he clasped the image of our Saviour crucified, which was in his right hand, and sobbed out a prayer for the salvation of his own soul, and that of his congregation. Altogether the scene, though strange, was affecting, and he continued in this position in a strain between preaching and praying for about ten minutes."[1]

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[1] In a little note-book of this date, there are pencil notes of a Lent Sermon on fasting, evidently written at the moment, and showing considerable power to appreciate that ecclesiastical humour, if we may so call it, which is peculiar to Italy, especially to Naples. "A man who abjures *carne, uove, latticinio*, etc., *stava in purgatorio due, tre giorni, così o fosse meno.* In the other case perhaps *fuoco eterno.* But *Santa Madre Chiesa* comes to you and says, '*Io ti voglio un gran bene, ma tu non lo vuoi.*' He wishes your entire salvation, or at least that your *dimora in purgatorio* should be as short as possible. 'But, padre,' you say, 'my health is delicate; my physician assures me that a little *minestra*, a slice of *carne*, a little *manzo*, are absolutely necessary to my existence.' 'Si, signore? and why does he say so? How did you talk to your physician to make him perceive that they are so absolutely necessary? Don Giulio, *per esempio*, or Don Antonio; some physician that you picked up *per la strada!*' 'You know in what a reduced state I am, *macerato come una candela.*' 'And Don Giulio, *per non perdere il suo cliente*, feels your pulse, shakes his head, makes a long face, rings for pen and ink—'Si, signor—and signs your certificate.' '*Avete capito?*' 'But what sort of a man is this *medico?*' '*Un buon uomo, Padre, va nelle Chiese.*' '*Ma anche i cani vanno in chiesa.*' 'But what sort of life does he lead?' '*Padre, servo il mio Dio con allegria, buon uomo Padre, soltanto un poco pazzarello.*' '*Pazzarello dite? Cioè un uomo scostumatissimo.*' 'But, *padre*, I have been in the habit of taking wine; you don't forbid that?' '*No, signor, un poco di vino, non c'è male.*' 'And then, *padre*, that the wine may not hurt me, I must eat something with it. You will allow me a bit of bread as big as my finger to dip into it?' 'And so you think that fingers never make hands, because you don't put them together,'" etc. etc.

On the 22nd March Robert received tidings of his sister Harriet's death. "Though I have for some time been uneasy at the state of her health" (he says in his Journal), "nevertheless the account of to-day was as unexpected as it was painful. I cannot but dread the effect it will have on my father and mother, who have suffered under the like calamities so frequently before. May God direct them, assist them, and console them. How thankful ought we to be to God that she was so well prepared for a sudden change, and that we can reflect on her present state as one of far greater happiness than is the lot of us, who are still left to struggle with the temptations and sorrows of this world. Wrote home announcing to my father my determination to return home immediately."

In accordance with this determination young Gray had taken his place for Rome, when a letter came from his sister Annie, containing good accounts of his parents, and apparently urging him not to return; to which he replies: "This in some measure alters my plans. I have done so after considering all things as well as I was able, and if I have acted wrong in deciding on the plan which I am about to name, I hope it will be considered more an error of judgment than anything else. . . . It is very probable that this year there will be no ceremonies at Easter [at Rome], and even if there were, I should much prefer a visit to Sicily to any ceremonies. I had previously arranged for making that tour with Robertson, and the time drew so near that it left him but little chance of finding a companion. Another strong reason was the little probability of my ever seeing Sicily, if deferred; a third, that it would not take me a week longer than staying for the Easter ceremonies. I should be sorry if this were to add to my father's anxieties at such a time, but there is really no ground for it. Many men whom I know have already made the tour, and several are now about it, and the worst to be encountered are bad accommodations. I really do not think that if my father were here, he would disapprove of it, or else I would not do it. Robertson has been most kind and attentive to me, and has given up all his own society to keep me company; I should have been sorry to have parted with so valuable a companion, and I hope we may leave Italy together.

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[1] A proof that Robert Gray's Italian studies had advanced, is found in the words entered on the first page of his *Sicilian Journal*, from Tasso :—

"Lasciami omai por nella terra il piede,
E veder questi inconosciuti lidi ;
Veder le genti, e 'l culto di lor fede,
E tutto quello onde uom saggio m'invidi
Quando mi gioverà narrare altrui
Le novità vedute, e dire ; lo fui."

"I trust my dear father and mother, and indeed all of you, continue well, and I look forward to the day when we shall meet again. Italy is much in the same state as when I wrote last from Rome, and people do not trouble themselves much whether it be the Austrians or the French that have possession of the Pope's dominions. Families who reside in Rome still continue there, without the least thought of removing."

Accordingly, on the 2nd April, the two young men started in a brig, and after a rather tedious voyage of three nights and two days, reached Palermo; and after a few days' steady lionising that town, they proceeded to make the tour of the island, "having equipped ourselves with furniture for the journey, such as kettles, teapots, spoons, knives and forks, meat, bread, butter, wine, and all the etceteras necessary to make a journey in these uncivilised parts tolerable." They had very bad weather, almost incessant rain, and great cold, so that they were "quite disheartened." After struggling through a sea of mud to the banks of the Platanus, they found it impracticable owing to the floods, and having slept uncomfortably enough under the shelter of an unfinished house, were thankful to get across by the help of a boat, which also towed their mules over, proceeding by Girgenti, Alicata, Serranova, Chiaramonte, Syracuse, Catania (where they deliberated about going up Mount Etna, but Mr. Robertson was not inclined to encounter the snow and wind, and the expedition was renounced), to Messina, where comes an honest avowal with which many a tourist might sympathise:—"There are no antiquities to be seen here, you are not even bothered by a cicerone." From Messina they sailed in a native boat, called a *sperinara*, hoping to be at Naples in twenty-four hours; but very shortly after they started the wind changed, and when they reached the Faro, it was impossible to round the point. So the boat was hauled on shore, and a most comfortless night, though the scene, especially at supper time, was "rich in the extreme," spent in it. After a second night they returned to Messina, whence a fresh start was more successful, and they passed "the hateful point of Faro," and were thankful to find themselves once more at Naples on May 1st. "If I am ever found in Sicily again," Robert writes to his sister, "I will give any one who pleases leave to whip me out of the island as a madman!"

An expedition to Pæstum and Capri followed, and on May 14th they left Naples for Rome, where some expeditions to Tivoli, Frascati, Palestrina, Subiaco, had yet to be made, and Robert Gray witnessed the splendid ceremonies of Corpus Christi. Mr. Robertson still wished to go to Greece, and found a companion in "Wordsworth, one of the cleverest young men of the day."[1] So Gray left them "immersed in modern and ancient Greek," and on May 23rd left Rome by himself. "I leave Rome with regret," he says, "and the little hope I have of ever seeing it again by no means diminishes it." He went by Narni, Terni, Foligno, and Perugia (where, however, he professes himself quite unable to appreciate Perugino) to Florence, where he stayed a short time, making an interesting expedition to Vallombrosa, where, "after a toilsome ascent rendered almost intolerable by a burning sun, we were amply repaid by the splendid view;" and going on to the Baths of Lucca, near which he also stayed a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Ellison at Saltocchio. Thence he went by Spezia to Genoa; then to Turin, where he began "to be heartily tired of so much of my own society, and more than ever convinced that man was never made for solitude!" This was soon to come to an end for the present. Gray crossed the Mont Cenis, and joined his cousins at Lausanne once more, at their pretty Campagne of Mont Olivet. Here he remained, as he tells his sister, upwards of a month, with his clothes packed up, and intending to depart every day, but his cousins' hospitality was so pressing that he could not get away. Indeed Mr. Thomas Gray kindly pressed his young cousin to remain over the coming winter with them, and it seems to have been an act of some self-denial on his part to refuse, besides, as he says, losing the only opportunity he might ever have of thoroughly mastering French. But beyond the wish to see his family after so long a separation, he was looking forward earnestly to his Ordination, and felt that all his thoughts and time ought to be devoted to preparation for it; so having been driven to Berne by his cousin, he went on by Basle, Heidelberg, and Frankfurt, where he spent his twenty-third birthday. In the review of his own condition, always made on these anniversaries, he says: "This is the most important birthday that has as yet passed, because it has qualified me, as far as years go, for entering into Holy Orders. Have I qualified myself in other respects? I fear that in almost every other I must confess myself greatly deficient: I have not made that progress either in knowledge or virtue, which my situation, opportunity, and capacity, demand of me."

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[1] Now Bishop of Lincoln.

A return by the Rhine disappointed him, as is frequently the case with travellers from the south. Between Cologne and Nimeguen he had some misadventures with his luggage, and as he says, "the road is not of that sort to soothe irritable feelings, or to make one forget one's misfortunes." Cholera was at that time prevalent on all sides, and a threat of it while at Amsterdam frightened him. However it subsided, and he went on to Haarlem, Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam, from which place he sailed October 17th for London, and rejoined his family. The day of travelling for pleasure, or even instruction, was over, and a new, more active phase of life was about to begin.

CHAPTER II.

1833 TO 1845.

ORDAINED DEACON—VARIED READING—PREPARATION FOR PRIEST'S ORDERS—ORDAINED PRIEST—PRESENTED TO THE VICARAGE OF WHITWORTH—DEATH OF BISHOP GRAY OF BRISTOL—BEGINNING OF WORK AT WHITWORTH—FIRST SERMON—INCREASED SERVICES—STUDY—CRITICISM OF BOOKS—WORK IN DURHAM, ETC.—BYERS GREEN—OFFER OF HUGHENDEN—DOUBTS AND DELIBERATIONS—ACCEPTS IT—WITHDRAWS HIS ACCEPTANCE—MARRIAGE—SETTLES AT OLD PARK—DAILY LIFE—POLITICS—ELECTIONS—BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD—THEOLOGICAL STUDIES—BAPTISMAL REGENERATION—DEATH OF MR. R. GRAY OF SUNDERLAND—HOOKER—LIFE OF WILLIAM WILBERFORCE—CHAPEL FOR BYERS GREEN—OFFER OF THE LIVING OF CROSSGATE—PROS AND CONS—DECLINES IT—FAILURE OF HEALTH—TRACTS FOR THE TIMES—GLADSTONE'S STATE AND CHURCH—PAROCHIAL WORK—DISSENT—SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL—PERSONAL RELIGIOUS GROWTH—FASTING—FAMILY PRAYERS—UNITY—BIRTH OF A SON—CHURCH PRINCIPLES—AMERICAN CHURCH—DR. PUSEY—DEATH OF HIS MOTHER—VISITATION SERMON.

ON the 3rd March, 1833, Robert Gray received Deacon's Orders, as his Letters of Orders show, at the hands of his own father, and in the parish church of Saint Margaret, Westminster, as the same document, signed R. BRISTOL, sets forth. The remainder of that month was spent in London, continually occupied in writing for his father; the two following months at Godmanchester, in Huntingdonshire, assisting his brother Charles, the incumbent thereof, during which he fairly grappled with parish work, both in sick-visiting and preaching. June and July were spent in London chiefly; and then the Bishop of Bristol, who had been very ill most of the time, moved to Weymouth, where his son Robert remained until the middle of the following January in constant and affectionate attendance upon him. His time was chiefly taken up in reading to and writing for the Bishop. Occasionally he helped the parish priest in services, or by preaching, while his own reading was very varied (as at all times) and very diligent. A note-book of this date contains not merely the names of the books he had read, but terse and clear comments upon them, showing an original and independent mind brought to bear on all the subjects which came under his attention. Bishop Burnet's *Lives*, Sharon Turner's *Creation*, Keith's *Evidences*, Milton, Thomson, Young, Tasso, Mosheim, Adam Clark, *Bridgewater Treatises*, Milner's *Church History*, Wilberforce's *Practical View*, sundry volumes of biography and travels, a few novels, some classics, and a great deal of Holy Scripture (partly in Greek Testament), together with Thomas à Kempis, "the exquisite tone and highest religious feeling" of which, as might be expected, delighted him;[1] such were the intellectual sustenance of that year. Probably, as years went on, the older man would not have endorsed all the criticisms of the Deacon of twenty-three; indeed, in one case we find appended to the assertion that a certain author was "a good scholar, and a sound and able divine," a pencil note, underlining the adjective *sound*, with "Not very, R. G., 1837." Several pages are taken up with a *resumé* of Lander's African journeys, as though already that country were being providentially brought before his mind, and he appears especially interested in the very little known of its scanty religious opinions.

Apparently, too, though little is said on the subject, Robert Gray was diligently preparing for Priest's Orders. A little book, dated April 8, 1833, and headed with the words of S. Paul, "Pray without ceasing," contains sundry prayers, evidently written out for his own use. The first, to be used "before study," is Bishop Wilson's, followed by others bearing special reference to the preparation of sermons, and instructing the congregation of Christ's Church. One of these prayers was so remarkably fulfilled in the after life of him who prayed it, that we must quote a few sentences:—"Give me skill and conduct prudently to steer my course through all difficulties in my way; and give me patience and courage to withstand all assaults and opposition which I may have to encounter. O my Lord! be with me, and guide and help me, and strengthen and succour me, now and always in the great work lying upon me. Open to me a door of utterance, that I may speak Thy word as I ought to speak, and make me faithful in my sacred calling; doing Thy work as a workman that needs not to be ashamed; not preaching myself, but Christ Jesus my Lord; not seeking the praise of men, but the honour of my God. Make me an example of all the holy duties which I inculcate on others, that I may not lay on them burdens which I refuse to bear myself, but may go before them in the ways which they are to follow, holding forth the Word of Life in my conversation as well as in my doctrine. . . . Let me never make the heart of the righteous sad, nor strengthen the hands of the wicked, nor give just offence to any; but let me approve myself, as far as I am able, useful and beneficial to all, keeping under my body, and bringing it into subjection, lest by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

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[1] He used later on to speak of it as "*The* book next best to the Bible."

Mr. Gray remained at Weymouth, in close attendance on his father, until January 11th, 1834, and on the 17th of that month he was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, "in the chapel of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, within our Palace at Wells, at the request of the Lord Bishop of Bristol;" so say the Letters of Orders. After his ordination, Mr. Gray spent some little time with his brother Henry at Almondsbury, but he soon rejoined his father at Rodney House, Clifton. The Bishop of Bristol became increasingly ill, and through the summer and autumn his son Robert seldom left him, reading to him, writing business and other letters for him, and continually sitting up at night with him, at times taking the latter duty in turn with his brothers Henry and Edward. How devoted his attendance was may be gathered from the following note to his sister, Mrs. Williamson, which is not dated, but was probably written about this time:—"My dearest Annie—It will no doubt appear very ungracious in me to leave town within a few days of your arrival there . . . but, however much I should have liked to have stayed for you, I still think that I ought to go to Bristol. You know how my father used to like seeing us all every day, and that each additional person added somewhat to the cheerfulness of both him and my mother; I cannot therefore feel comfortable in remaining here for my own amusement, after he has lost both you and Robert Gray [a cousin], two main pillars of his comfort. . . . I should also be at my post to take my share in attending, reading, etc., which I well know falls heavily on one or two. I must therefore, dearest love, defer the pleasure of seeing you, till the pleasure of your society will not be marred by feeling that I ought not to be enjoying it.—Your affectionate brother, ROBERT GRAY."

He seems to have assisted and preached frequently at different places; Clifton, Almondsbury, S. Paul's, S. Augustine's, Horfield, Littleton, Thornbury, Alveston; to all appearance taking much pains with the preparation of his sermons, if one may judge by such entries as—"Wrote a sermon on the corruption of human nature, read a great deal on the subject;" as also by the constant, regular study of Holy Scripture and theology which he kept up.

In 1834, he was presented to the living of Whitworth, county Durham, by the Chapter of Durham Cathedral, and in April went to take possession of it,[1] preaching there several times; but he did not remain in the north, probably on account of his father's health, his presence being almost a necessity to the Bishop. In September he made a tour in Devonshire, on his return from which he found his father evidently worse; and "on Sunday, September 28th, 1834, my dear father expired with composure and resignation to the will of God."[2]

Most of the remainder of the year was spent with his mother at Clifton or in London, and among other members of the family, and with their old friends the Norrises of Hughenden. Before the end of Advent Mr. Gray went down to Durham, where, he says, "on Christmas day, I entered on my own duties at Whitworth, and administered the Sacrament to fourteen communicants. May God grant that I may feel as I ought the overwhelming importance of the trust committed to me. May I be blessed with the Divine Assistance in the discharge of my awful duties. Oh, how much is required of a minister of God, what watchfulness—what self-examination, and self-denial, and prayer! How difficult it is to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove! 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Grant me, O my God, an understanding heart to know my duty, and knowing it, grant me to fulfil it!"

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[1] The official document certifying that the Rev. Robert Gray, Clerk, M.A., Incumbent of the Perpetual Curacy of Whitworth, in the county of Durham, duly "read in," is dated April 27th, 1834.

[2] Writing from his father's bedside to his sister Annie, he says—"My father has just expired, so calmly that it was imperceptible—not the least struggle."

There was no vicarage house at Whitworth, and Mr. Gray was obliged to live in Durham (he took possession of Mr. Wharton's house in the South Bailey, on January 15th, 1835), an inconvenient arrangement, involving a walk of several miles every time he went to his parish, as well as surrounding him with temptations to indulge in more society than he felt to be desirable. Such entries as, "Much dining out, and time occupied by visiting old friends in Durham and the county:" "I find little time for writing, and less for reflection—a great deal too much society:"—"The continued visiting is a great bar to reflection and spiritual improvement, it throws me completely out:" "Dined out as usual a great deal:"—show the struggle going on between his own genial love of society, where his bright hearty presence was always eagerly sought, and the conviction that such indulgence militated against his higher duties. These were, however, certainly not neglected. His first sermon after coming permanently to Whitworth ("an opening sermon" he calls it), preached December 28th, 1834, was on the words, "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, Who shall judge the quick and the dead at His appearing and His kingdom, preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine" (2 Tim. iv. 1, 2),—"on the relative duties," he says, "of a minister of the Gospel and a Christian people. May God grant that both parties may fulfil them!" That Mr. Gray himself was seeking earnestly by God's Help to do his part, may be seen by his earnest expressions on January 1st, 1835. "How many and how great opportunities have I had given me of late for serious reflection and improvement! Another year is now dawning upon me, and with it new and most solemn duties are open to me, even the care of immortal souls. I know not whether I shall be spared to see the close of it; but I pray God, that if I am, I may have no cause for self-reproach. May He purify my heart, and increase my knowledge, and direct my every act. May He grant that I may have a single eye to His glory, and devote my whole energy both of soul and body to the preaching of the Redeemer's Kingdom. May I preach the truth as it is in Jesus, rightly divide the Word, and declare the whole counsel of God. May I be a pattern of good works, and afford no occasion to the enemy to blaspheme; may I be instant in season, out of season; and may the Holy Spirit of God rest upon my work, bearing me onward by the power of faith and hope to that glorious immortality and that abiding rest which is in store for the faithful servants of our God!"

There was much room for earnest work in the parish, which had not enjoyed any very special amount of religious privileges hitherto; and at a later period Mr. Gray said that on coming to it he had found a great portion little better than infidels. The congregations were very small, *e.g.*—Dec. 28, 1834—consisting only of thirty persons, but ere long he "finds them increasing, I trust. Great lukewarmness,—sermons principally intended to awaken them." On May 3, 1835, he began an Evensong service, when "instead of a sermon he gave an exposition from Scripture extempore, though with notes;" and finding that for years there had been no service on Ash-Wednesday, he restored full service and sermon on that day (March 4th), with a congregation five in number. On Quinquagesima Sunday he "preached on the Scriptural duty of fasting; its antiquity, origin, and perpetual observation amongst Christians; its end as a preparation for repentance, meditation, self-examination, prayer, and the study of God's Word. Lord, grant that I be not judged out of my own mouth."

And a few days earlier he writes—"I have written a sermon for each Sunday in the month (Feb.) I find, however, little time for writing, and still less for reflection, consequently my progress has not been great in spiritual things; indeed I fear of late I have made no progress at all. My prayers have been cold and formal; I have trusted too much in myself, and the resolution I have made of doing my duty by my parish. I have not been sufficiently active among my parishioners, reproving, rebuking, exhorting them. Holy Spirit, be Thou with me; put into my heart good desires. Bring the same to good effect."

Besides what was done in his own parish, Mr. Gray preached in various places. Sermons are noted at Sunderland (where his cousin, another Robert Gray, was incumbent), Bolden, and the Market Place, Durham, etc. On the latter occasion he says—"Found it very difficult to bring myself to feel simply that I was a Christian minister delivering the most solemn and affecting truths to a Christian people. Would to God I always had a single eye to His Glory, and the salvation of souls; that I preached Christ, and not myself!" And a few days later:—"Dissatisfied with myself. I am not employing this holy season of Lent as a Christian ought to employ it." And again, in May, he writes—"My weekly sermon and exposition, together with parish visits and dinner-parties, have absorbed nearly the whole of this month. Have always been in a hurry; no time for reflection, and but little for study. I cannot but condemn myself for spending so much time in society. By it my mind is unsettled, and religious improvement, I fear, at a standstill."

Yet, while reproaching himself with distraction and neglect of study, his Journal testifies to what some people might have considered a by no means unsatisfactory amount of reading. He was carrying on "an attentive and critical" study of the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles in their original Greek, as also of various commentators,—Wolfens' *Curæ Philologicæ,* Whitley, Grotius, Macknight, etc.; and several historical books of the Old Testament; he took up Hebrew anew, beginning with the first rudiments, and working steadily at it; he read a good many books on various theological and ecclesiastical subjects, making careful notes as he went.[1] Southey's *Book of the Church*, a *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* Butler's *Book of the Roman Catholic Church;* Townsend's *Accusations of History;* Arnold's *Sermons;* Dodsworth's *Sermons on General Redemption and Limited Salvation* (these latter marked as to be "read again"); Gother's *Instructions for Lent;* Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals;* Bishop Tunstal's *Sermon before Henry VIII.;* Sumner's *Apostolical Preaching*, which delighted Mr. Gray, and was (as usual with a book which impressed him) read again a second and a third time, and commented on thus:—"There is not a line I should wish to blot. I pray that, by God's Grace, I may so preach Christian truth;" Milner's *Church History;* Blunt's *Reformation;* Bridges' *Christian Ministry*, "which I hope will be useful to me, and with which I am in many respects delighted." Besides these, a mass of serials, biographies, etc. etc. Among these latter it is interesting to find the future Missionary Bishop studying Henry Martin's *Life*, and writing of it—"I trust that a knowledge of the character of this man of God has been beneficial to me. Perhaps such self-devotion and humiliation of heart has never been surpassed. Resolved to study the lives of the real Saints of the Church for my own improvement and advancement in religion. Read the Word of God with more attention than I have hitherto done." The *Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister* is criticised as follows:—"He shows very forcibly the evils of the Voluntary system, and the factious and mere party or political nature of dissent. It does not appear to me to be the work of a very religious man." Certain French *Archives du Christianisme* (Calvinist) also lead Mr. Gray to say—"Perhaps one cannot collect so well from any other source the state of Protestantism in Germany. It appears that many of their clergy, who are educated at Geneva, have fallen into the Socinian heresy, or something like it; while, on the other hand, those whose views are sound on all points of Christian doctrine appear to me somewhat exclusive and intolerant."

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[1] In some cases these notes are most copious and elaborate, amounting to a complete synopsis of the book he had been reading, and filling a note-book, larger or smaller.

After reading the *Letters* of one Mr. Rabshekah Gathercole, a book written, it would seem, in a very violent and exaggerated spirit, Mr. Gray draws a practical conclusion. "His attack upon our Orders and Church government have convinced me of the necessity of our preparing ourselves on these subjects. The Clergy of the Church of England have need now of the most strenuous exertions. While books of this sort are in every one's hands, we must not be found wanting. Apart from a knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel, and all more immediately relating to our ministerial capacity, we are particularly called upon now to study the Roman Controversy, the Evidences, and the claims of our Church to be true and apostolical. All are now up in arms against us: on every side we are assailed—the infidel, the Latitudinarian, the Romanist, and the Dissenters. We have to contend against the combined efforts of malice and superstition, supported by considerable ingenuity, talent, and learning. Let us buckle on our armour, then; let us not be wanting to ourselves, and God will not be wanting to us. We have truth on our side, and in fighting the battles of truth we are fighting the battles of God. God be thanked that the Church is better able now than she was half-a-century ago to stand against the powers of darkness. God be thanked that the ministers of religion are increasing in zeal, spirituality, and, I would hope, in learning, every day. These books are not without their uses. We learn the utmost strength of our adversaries' position, and we prepare ourselves against it. It has had this good effect upon me, that I have resolved, at as early a period as possible, to study Paley and Sumner's *Evidences*, Hooker and Potter, with the history of our Church, especially about the period of the Reformation. I hope it has also taught me the necessity of studying the Bible closer. May it stir up others also."

One can scarcely call this time idly spent, to say nothing of the pains evidently bestowed on services and sermons, with the happy result of increasing congregations, which in July were sometimes "good even to overflowing." Nor was Mr. Gray only active at home. In May he added the voluntary charge of the hamlet called Byer's Green to his own parish. This township was in the parish of S. Andrew, Auckland, and four miles from the parish church, without any provision for services whatever. The population was at this time about 300 souls, but a very large increase was to be expected, in consequence of certain coal-pits recently let and about to be worked, and a railway about to be made, which in the same way largely affected the population of Tudhoe, a township in the parish of Brancepeth, which was five miles from its mother church, and, moreover, separated from it by the river Wear, which was frequently not fordable either by boat or ferry. In August we find him preaching at S. Mary's, Newcastle, and recording—"Felt my own unworthiness and unfitness to teach such a congregation; was much in prayer; I hope this month I have not gone back." And again:—"Had the advantage of hearing the Bishop of Chester[1] preach several times. No inexperienced Christian could preach his sermons; the style is diffuse and somewhat unconnected, but he makes the most of his subject, and his views are those of one whose heart has long dwelt upon these things." In June he undertook his cousin Robert Gray's work, at Sunderland, for three weeks, and towards the end of October he undertook the charge of the parish of S. Giles,' Durham, for Mr. Robert Liddell, when he confesses himself "overwhelmed with all I have upon my hands;" yet at the same time he contrived to fill a commonplace book with a comprehensive digest of Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, and to attend two courses of Hebrew lectures, though of the latter he says—"Have had but little time, however, for preparing them, occupied as I have been with Liddell's parish and my own." And again:—"Still less time than ever for reading; it seems absolutely at a stand-still!" Yet he was not satisfied with his own exertions (probably because they were so real), and says that his "mind is ill at ease from various causes—the worst of all is a reproachful conscience on account of my little progress."

The only holiday Mr. Gray allowed himself during this first year of his Whitworth incumbency, was a fortnight spent at the Lakes with General Peachy, until at the end of December he went to London to see his mother, whom he found much altered and greatly reduced. The 1st of January 1836 found him with his brother Henry, at Almondsbury, and preaching in his church. As usual, he carefully reviews his own spiritual growth during the past, to him, important year.

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[1] Bishop Sumner.

"There is much cause for gratitude, and still more for regret and self-reproach. I trust, on the whole, that I have advanced in religious knowledge, but that is all. On the other hand, how many opportunities of doing and receiving good have, through negligence, or, still worse, through wilfulness, been thrown away. How little impression have the most serious and awful truths made upon me; how little has conscience been suffered to have rule over my thoughts and ways; how often have I slighted and resisted the striving of God's good Spirit; how little have I attended to the duties of self-examination, watchfulness, and prayer; how inefficiently have I performed the sacred and solemn duties of a minister of the Gospel of Christ! When I consider how lamentably deficient I have been in these and ten thousand other duties, I see little cause for self-congratulation, but much for deep self-abasement and humble prayer. O God, grant that the next may be spent more in Thy service, and in doing Thy Will! Grant that I may endeavour with renewed strength and zeal to win souls to Christ; and oh! do Thou teach me by Thy blessed Spirit, that I also may be enabled to teach the flock Thou hast committed to my trust the truth as it is in Jesus."

The want of a house at Whitworth was an exceeding annoyance to him at this time, and the attempts he made to get one built were not promoted as they should have been by his patrons, the Chapter. Mr. Gray alludes to this in a letter to his sister of October 24th, 1835. . . . "I am afraid my business at Whitworth will end in my resigning the living. The best prospect I have at present is to get a house by a sacrifice of £100 to £150, and reducing the living to about

£120 per annum. . . . What with one thing and another I am much worried and depressed.

> "'This world's a wilderness of woe
> And life a pilgrimage of pain.'

Were I prepared to do so, I would be very thankful to leave it, though I am quite willing to remain in it, privileged as I am to be an ambassador of Christ, and commissioned to preach His Gospel."

Part of the month of January, 1836, was spent at Hughenden with the Norrises, who were old family friends; and soon after Mr. Gray's return to Whitworth he received an offer of the living of Hughenden, "couched in the most pressing and affectionate terms." His own account of this time of hesitation and doubt as to what was right is so extremely characteristic that only his own words must describe what he felt.

"After giving up nearly a fortnight to meditation, to prayer, and to consulting my friends, I have resolved to accept it. My first endeavour, I think I may say, has been to ascertain whether my *duty* clearly pointed to either sphere. To this end I have dwelt long upon the peculiar nature of my duties at Whitworth, and the probable nature of those at Hughenden, and have consulted such religious friends as I was able, either personally or by letter. As I wish to have a record of my feelings, both as a subject which in after years I may be desirous to look back upon, and also as a guide to direct me in any similar emergency, I shall state as accurately as may be the grounds which have caused me so long to hesitate. My present parish contains a population of about one hundred. In addition to this I have undertaken the duty of Byer's Green, containing a population of perhaps three hundred; and have given out my intention of taking the charge of Tudhoe township, with an additional population of from three to four hundred. All this district has been much neglected. I found a great portion of my parish and of Byer's Green little better than infidels, and I have reason to believe that Tudhoe is much in the same state, with a little leaven of Romanism. During the few months[1] I have been here God has been pleased to bless my labours, and to hold out a fair prospect of an abundant harvest. All have willingly, nay gladly, received my books; all have listened patiently to what I have said; and many who for years have not frequented church have been induced at least occasionally to attend. These are cheering prospects, and I think I could discern symptoms of general inclination to take more heed to their ways,—to think more seriously of their souls. Almost every one has expressed a willingness to come to church. Again, I had formed plans which I trusted, with the Blessing of God, might be productive of much good to His Church. Instead of confining the public services to my church, which is at a very inconvenient distance from the two extremes of my charge, I had proposed to give a morning service at Whitworth, an afternoon service in the school at Tudhoe, and an evening service in the schoolroom at Byer's Green. I should thus have carried Religion, as it were, to every man's door, and left them utterly without excuse.

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[1] It was rather more than a year.

"Another serious point to be considered was, Who is to be my successor? Would he undertake the duty of Byer's Green? or would it again be left to sink into apathy and infidelity? Was I justified in leaving a charge I had voluntarily undertaken, in complete uncertainty as to whether it would ever again meet with a minister in the incumbent of Whitworth? Again, at Whitworth I was personally acceptable, and my people begged me very earnestly to stay among them. How did I know that the very reverse of all this would not be the case at Hughenden?

"On the other hand, Hughenden contains a population of fifteen hundred, double the number that I could possibly have at Whitworth; and, with God's Grace, I think I feel equal to the charge of them. Again, the offer was altogether unexpected and unsought by me, and thus might be considered perhaps as an opening of Providence.

"In all these points I consulted such religious friends as were within my reach, and in whose judgment I could confide. I sought also very earnestly the guidance and direction of the Spirit of God in prayer. Robert Gray [his cousin at Sunderland] was doubtful, with a leaning to my remaining at Whitworth. Charles leant decidedly towards Hughenden, also some religious friends whose opinions he asked upon the subject. Mr. Sneyd recommended me to accept of Hughenden, as did also Robert Liddell. All of these opinions were given merely in consideration of the spiritual interests of the two parishes.

"As far as I myself was concerned, I own I could not see my way clearly; but, encouraged by the opinions of my friends, I thought I might safely decide that since the two cases were so nicely balanced in point of duty and usefulness, I might in selecting between the two consult my own inclinations. And here, indeed, difficulties scarcely less formidable than those already mentioned beset me on every side. . . . Sufficient that on my present decision the future prospects of my life seemed altogether to depend. No action of my life appeared to draw along with it such important consequences. My Ordination was indeed in itself more important, but perhaps at no specific moment of my life did I decide upon that. It was the wish and determination of my childhood; the desire grew up with me, and I always considered it as a point already settled. Here, however, I had to decide, as it were in an instant, on a most complicated and perplexing subject.

"Hughenden was desirable on these accounts:—It was near my mother in her declining years; near Annie,[1] who can never leave town for any length of time; and it was nearer to all my brothers, and London. The emoluments of the living were somewhat greater; there was a pretty, but small parsonage situated in Mr. Norris's grounds, and I should be close by my dearest and oldest friends.

"Whitworth was without a house, and I should in all probability be obliged to build.[2] It was, however, in a county where I was born and bred, and where I had very many kind friends, and in quitting the north I was parting with them for ever. I had the advantage of the family at Old Park, who kindly assisted and co-operated with me in everything. I was attached to my people.

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[1] His favourite sister Annie was now married to the Rev. Richard Williamson, D.D., Head Master of Westminster School.

[2] Already in the July previous he wrote of himself as "much engaged and worried with an ineffectual attempt to negotiate an exchange of glebe, and build a parsonage at Whitworth."

"Under all these conflicting circumstances I had very great difficulty in bringing myself to a decision. I scarce know yet whether I am altogether convinced that I have acted for the best; yet I will hope that it is so. I have honestly, I hope, and fervently prayed that God would dispose of me in the way in which I should be most useful in spreading the Gospel, in winning souls to Christ, and in providing for my own everlasting welfare. I will hope that I have been guided by Him in my decision, and that I have chosen for the best. During the painful state of uncertainty in which I have been during the last fortnight, my feelings have been very fluctuating and uncertain. Sometimes I have been disposed (and this, I fear, has been too much the feeling of my mind) to look at the question merely in a temporal point of view. At other times considerations of greater importance, and more befitting the occasion, have not been wanting. At these times, the thought of resigning that care of souls once undertaken has appeared peculiarly solemn and awful. I have solemnly undertaken, before God and man, to use my best endeavours to convert every sinner here from his evil ways, and preach to them Christ a Saviour; and in order to effect this I was bound to be instant in season, out of season,—to give myself wholly to the work of the Ministry, that I might by all means save some. Now, however, that there is a prospect of my leaving them for ever, never again to meet till we all stand perhaps with mutual accusations at the bar of God's Judgment Seat, I am bound to ask myself how I have fulfilled the sacred obligations of my office. My deceitful heart, my self-love, my exceeding vanity, and the voice of flattery, are all ready to whisper Peace, Peace! and to tell me that I have done my duty; yet here I wish solemnly to record my deliberate conviction that I have been greatly deficient. O my God, do Thou forgive me, and may these words never rise up in judgment against me! If Thou shouldst be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? Yet will I thus record my own guilt in order that if my life be spared, and I still be permitted to preach the glad tidings of Salvation, I may hereby be stirred up to more vigorous exertion, more watchfulness, prayer, meditation, study of the Scriptures, and self-examination.

"First of all, then, during the year I have ministered at Whitworth, I have been deficient in respect to myself. I know well that under God a minister's usefulness depends much upon his own degree of holiness. Personal religion is of the greatest importance, and therefore neglect of it in a minister is a sin of the deepest guilt, inasmuch as without it he may prove the ruin of those souls committed to his charge. Yet this is the first count in my self-accusation. I have indulged in secret sin. I have not obeyed the voice of conscience, and thus have resisted the Spirit of God. I have not in trifling matters strictly adhered to the truth. I have been deficient in principle, lukewarm in my prayers, negligent of self-examination, meditation, practical study of the Word of God. I have gone too much into society,—not paid sufficient attention to my public discourses, and have committed besides many grievous sins too numerous to mention. O my God! I intreat Thy forgiveness, and pray earnestly for an increased portion of Thy Ever Blessed Spirit, to preserve me from all future sins. Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse Thou me from my secret sins!

"With regard to my public duties, I have not been sufficiently active: I have consulted often my own personal ease, and have thus neglected many opportunities of doing good. I have not with sufficient boldness rebuked sin; I have suffered my own feelings to interfere with the stern discharge of duty. I trust I have in my public preaching and private exhortations laid freely before my people, as well as I was able, the saving truths of the Gospel. I have endeavoured to humble the sinner and exalt the Saviour. I have endeavoured to describe God to them as Holy, Just, and Merciful;—to convince every man that he is a corrupt fallen sinful creature, by nature obnoxious to the wrath of God, and still more so by actual sin;—to point out that if judged by our works there would be no hope for our souls. I have dwelt largely and often upon that Atonement which Christ Jesus has made for our sins; I have made the main subject of my preaching Christ Crucified. I have endeavoured to impress upon them the immense debt of gratitude we all owe to our Beloved Redeemer for all the great things He hath done for our souls. I have pointed out how the Love of Christ should constrain us to obedience and lead us to live no longer to ourselves, but to Him Who died for us and rose again. I have pressed upon them the absolute necessity of faith in Christ, without which we can have no interest in His Death, and shall obtain no benefit from His Precious Blood shed for us upon the Cross. At the same time, I have taken pains that they should not mistake the nature of saving faith. I have endeavoured to expose to them the rottenness and even wickedness of a barren profession—a dead faith—that true faith worketh by love, and that good works are as necessary evidences of the soundness of their faith, as fruit is of the soundness of the tree which bears it—taking care, however, that they be not thus led to trust in themselves as righteous, and urging upon them that we are justified in the Sight of God by faith only. I have directed them to the Spirit of God as the only Source from whence this and every other good gift can be derived, and taught them to look for His assistance in earnest prayer; and have also directed their attention to those other important branches of a Christian's duty—Study of the Word of God, Self-examination, and a frequent reception of the Lord's Supper. Having pointed out to them the part which the Father has had in creating us, the Son in redeeming us, and the Spirit in sanctifying us, I have led them in humble reverence to consider Them as Three Mysterious Persons constituting One Eternal, Omnipotent God.

"And now, O my God! the thought of leaving these Thy poor wandering sheep, for aught I know, without a shepherd, is oppressive to my soul. If I have acted wrongly, do Thou forgive me. Did I but know Thy Will, O my God, I am content to do it;—to stay or to go as seemeth best unto Thee. Do Thou order my ways. My God! earnestly do I pray of

Thee that Thou wilt send as my successor one who shall care for the souls of these poor people. Thou hast begun a good work in them; I beseech Thee, Good Lord, to finish it. And oh! do Thou dispose their hearts to receive the truth in the love of it. Strengthen thou me by Thy Good Spirit, that during the remaining time I continue amongst them, I may be enabled to point out to them the way of life. May I both publicly in the pulpit, and privately in their houses, be enabled to preach to them Christ a Saviour. Grant, O Lord, more than I know how to ask, or am worthy to receive, for my Blessed Saviour's Sake. Amen.

"Resolved, at least once before I go, to visit every house in my parish and in Byer's Green, and if possible, again to preach Christ to every individual in it. Good Lord, help me."

It must be borne in mind that the writer of these vigorous self-searchings was a man of twenty-six, and a Priest of barely one year's standing; as also that to the perceptions of those who knew and surrounded him in his daily life, it was far beyond the common standard, although not reaching to that which he erected for himself from God's Word and the claims of His Ordination vows. His desire not to be unduly thought of comes out again, though in a different form, in his letter to Mrs. Norris of Hughenden accepting the living.

". . . The real cause of my delay has been owing to the difficulty I have had in bringing myself to a decision on a subject which will so materially affect my happiness here, and it may be hereafter. I shall not think it necessary to conceal from you that it has cost me a very severe struggle to resolve upon quitting for ever my present charge, even for Hughenden, which I need not say has great attractions for me. At length, however, I have come to the determination to accept the offer Mr. Norris has been good enough to make me. May I beg you will both accept yourself and convey to him my grateful thanks for this and many repeated acts of kindness. I pray God that He will grant me His Grace to discharge faithfully and efficiently the solemn duties I am about to undertake.

"And here again, my dear Mrs. Norris, will you permit me to caution you upon one subject? Your partiality has led you very, *very* much to overrate me in every way. You have, if I may make bold to say it, suffered your feelings to blind your judgment. It is important to your future happiness, and it is but justice to me, that you should not suffer me to begin my ministry amongst you at such a disadvantage. It is next to impossible but that, when thrown together so much as we necessarily must be, *some* differences will occasionally arise, and these will be more severely felt because unexpected, and must lead to disappointment. I must beg you indeed not to colour the picture too highly. I shall have, I am sure, to draw largely upon your charity and forbearance, and therefore I think it necessary thus early to enter my protest against what I think an injury to us all. May I ask you to remember that it is but three or four years since that you were snubbing me as a raw lad from College? Neither experience, nor wisdom, nor knowledge, nor piety, are of so quick a growth!

". . . Such as it is, however, my decision is made, and I trust and believe it is for the best. I have not come to it hastily, not looking solely to temporal advantages, nor without much prayer and meditation. It is impossible for me to say when I shall be able to leave the North. I cannot quit my people without at least endeavouring to speak a parting word to every individual, and exhorting them once more to walk closely with their God. Nor would I be deficient in respect to my patrons the Chapter, by throwing up my charge hastily, without leaving them time to provide adequately for the duty. Added to this, I have a very great quantity of furniture, some of which I must dispose of, and some I shall wish to send up to London. I think I should take no step till I hear from you that Mr. * * *'s resignation is in your hands. . . . I am not sure now that my cousin[1] will think I have done right in leaving two great districts, without a reasonable probability of their meeting with a minister in my successor. If he thinks I have done wrong, he will not scruple to say so. The people themselves tell me that if I go they will be left to themselves as they have been all their lives, and I cannot say that it will not be so."

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[1] Mr. Robert Gray of Sunderland.

But after all Robert Gray's destination was not Hughenden. Among the *pros* and *cons* with respect to Whitworth, he alludes to the family at Old Park, who were such kind friends, and co-operated so heartily in all he tried to do for his parish. These were the Myddletons of Grinkle Park, who were then chiefly resident at their property of Old Park, where Mr. Gray was very constantly, generally spending the Saturday and Sunday nights there,[1] after he began extra services which would have made going backwards and forwards to and from Durham a serious difficulty. All the family was kind to the young Incumbent of Whitworth, and he liked them all, but the one member in whom his main interests were centred was the second daughter, Sophia Wharton Myddleton, who became so well known and loved in after years, wherever her husband went, as his unwearied, devoted wife—as admirable a "helpmate" as any man leading a life of constant exertion and trial could imagine or desire.

Mr. Gray had not been specially attracted to Miss Myddleton on their first acquaintance, but a little later he was struck by the way in which she gave up mere idle novel-reading, and took to the study of religious and intellectual books, a change which seemed to him (so he said) to be founded upon principle, and not any mere momentary impulse. She also devoted herself to a steady, self-denying care of the poor of Byer's Green; and on Mr. Gray's return from the south that winter, he found that she had been unvaryingly active and helpful in the parish during his absence. "The poor people spoke warmly and gratefully of her attention: she had read to the sick and aged, given clothes to those in want, sent their children to school—in short, there was scarce a cottage in the village but had some marks to show of her kindness and charity. Perhaps this was the first moment that I felt anything like love for her. Before this I might have admired her person; I might have felt a degree of kindness towards her; I might have drawn a distinction between her and the other members of her family; it might before this have occurred to me that she might make me a good wife; but it was not till now that I thought at all seriously on the subject. From the moment of my return home, my feelings of regard towards her became gradually strengthened. Towards the end of February, when I had scarce been home a month, an offer came from Mr. Norris of the living of Hughenden, and I was thrown into the greatest perplexity. There was nothing in the nature of either parish which made it an absolute duty either to go or stay. I therefore felt I might consider my own personal feeling, and here I became a prey to the most distressing state of indecision. I had a regard for Sophy, yet I could not help thinking that I did not know enough of her to commit my whole happiness to her keeping. I thought upon marriage, and took perhaps an exaggerated view of the effect it would have upon my happiness in this world, and it might be in the next. Then, on the other hand, Hughenden had great charms for me. . . . At last I resolved to go, and thought I had firmly decided, without having ever made up my mind. I was the more reconciled to this because the living was not yet vacant, and it did not oblige me to take any immediate step. I should have at least a month or six weeks longer, during which I might become better acquainted with Sophy. . . . From the moment I came to this decision, I began to doubt whether I had decided rightly. Sophy appeared more amiable in my eyes, and I could not bear the thought of leaving her for ever. This feeling became daily stronger. Thinking it arose from being much in her presence, I determined to keep away for several days, and I did so. But my feelings, instead of growing calmer, became more excited. Throughout the whole of this business, I prayed much for God's guidance and direction, and wished to place myself altogether in His Hands. Now, however, my prayer became every day more earnest. I will hope and believe that it was under the influence of God's Holy Spirit that I resolved to ask Sophy to become my wife. Accordingly, on Thursday, March 16, I went over to Old Park with this intention. I could, however, find no convenient opportunity during that day or the succeeding. I was not asked to stay another day, and therefore returned to Durham. On the Saturday morning came a letter from Mr. Norris to say he was ready to present me. I felt I must do something. I thought the matter once more over, and prayed again for guidance. In the course of an hour I was on my road to Old Park. I took an opportunity of telling Sophy what had happened, and asked her to decide for me. . . . On the following morning she accepted me.

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[1] The Bishop in after days used to tell a story of how in one of his long walks out from Durham to Whitworth, he was attracted by a solitary deer, which had taken up its abode in a wood he was passing (a sort of White Doe of Rylstone !). He always had a special love for animals, and he determined to try and win this timid creature to intimacy ; so he stopped and talked as gently as possible to it, fixing his eyes upon its eyes. By slow degrees he lured it on till it grew quite bold, and coming up rubbed its head against its new friend, and let him pat it. He tried to coax it to come through a gate with him, but that was too much for its new found courage. However, when he had passed, the deer leapt the gate and followed him till he reached the church, where the last bell warned him to dally no longer with his playfellow. He had hoped to find it again and tame it, but the deer never reappeared.

"I am now writing on the Wednesday following. I look calmly upon all that has passed, and I heartily thank my God that He has brought it to this conclusion. I feel convinced that it is with His approbation and under His direction that I have taken this important step. May His Blessing be with us! May He cause His Face to shine upon us! May we lead each other on the paths of peace and holiness, till we come together in the fulness of years to the glorious immortality of the Saints in Heaven!"

What prayer was ever more visibly granted? There is something very touching, now that that devoted husband and wife have both entered upon the immortal life, to notice in the young bride's pocket-book the entry on that bright 19th of March, "The first butterfly;"—Christian emblem of that joyful Resurrection which they both await in peace. A letter from his sister, announcing the intended marriage to a friend, says: "I confess it did not surprise me that the lady said Yes; for those who know Robert well must respect and love him, especially those who have witnessed his late exertions, as she has done. The lady is one of the Miss Myddletons of Old Park, and possessing the nice old family mansion, his difficulty with respect to building a Parsonage house at Whitworth is done away with. I am delighted that he is to remain at Whitworth, though he has been much tempted to leave it."

Although naturally now much time was spent at Old Park, and Mr. Gray says he did but little in the way of reading, he certainly did not neglect his duties. His Journal records sermon-writing, two every week; he attended an interesting course of anatomical lectures by Dr. Croke with a view to the illustration of Paley; and on the 15th of May he began the Evening Service he had contemplated in the schoolroom at Byer's Green, having obtained the Bishop's consent. "I preached extempore," he says, "on the three last verses of St. Matthew's Gospel, our Blessed Lord's Commission to His Apostles. The room was crowded; many went away unable to obtain an entrance. O my Lord and God! most heartily, most earnestly, do I pray that this may be a means of awakening the souls of those who are sunk so deep in the sleep of death. May I have Thy Glory and the salvation of precious immortal souls only in view. Do Thou, O God! root out the wicked vanity of my heart which leads me to sink Thy Glory in my own, and to value the applause of men, instead of being content with the approbation of my heart-searching God. O for a single eye and a single heart! O for sincerity and truth in the inward part! I hope this service has been begun with a desire to benefit my people, and win souls to Christ. I wish more especially to arouse and attract those who have never frequented a place of public worship. I wish to supply the wants of the aged and infirm, and I wish to teach *all* the truth as it is in Jesus. Lord, be Thou my Helper, for without Thee I can do nothing. The Gospel has been brought nigh unto them, even to their doors;—may they no longer despise the Goodness and Long-suffering of God, which endureth yet daily."

A month later he says: "The service at the school prospers, and I begin to find the task of preparation less burdensome. I begin to fear that, as I find it easier, I shall be less in fervent prayer. I must watch against this. God grant me His grace to continue stedfast." This work certainly was blessed: the congregation averaged about eighty; and that at Whitworth, where Mr. Gray began with thirty to forty, now averaged from eighty to a hundred and ten. In August Mr. Gray called a meeting of the people at Byer's Green, and established a Temperance Society among them. He declared that he "lived from hand to mouth, with no time for study or meditation, barely enough to prepare sermons, and not always that." Yet there are traces of earnest meditation in his prayers that he and his intended wife might go on growing together in the knowledge and love of God, and be a mutual blessing to each other's souls; in the close self-examination which resulted in "finding much fault with myself in many respects;" "much evil-speaking and slandering, much coldness, much neglect, much that is inconsistent with my profession. Alas! I find by daily experience that though my course of life seems far removed from the danger of sinning, Satan has always fresh resources in store, new plans and methods to ruin the soul, new temptations by which he may overcome those who are desirous of living to God. 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you,' says the Voice of inspiration. Lord, grant me Thy Grace, that I *may* resist stedfast unto the end."

His brother Charles came to stay with him, and help him during the last month before his marriage, which was inevitably a busy time; and he complains that his thoughts and mind were much distracted. "On Tuesday, Sept. 6th, 1836, Sophy and I were married by Charles in Whitworth Church; present, Mrs. Myddleton, Henrietta, Kitty, Keiro Watson, John Wilkinson, William and Mrs. Wharton, John and Mrs. J. Wharton, Robert and Mary [Gray]. If it please God to spare our health and lives, I trust we may look forward to many years of happiness. Oh, how my God has blessed me above what I had any right to expect! Grant me, O God, a grateful heart. Grant that we may prove helpmeets to each other, not only in this life, but in our passage to another and better. Grant that she may prove a blessing to myself, a blessing to my parish, a blessing to all around her; and oh! do Thou grant her Thy Blessing. Grant that she may grow in grace daily, and in the knowledge of the Lord, that she may become more and more a confirmed Christian, a true, humble, sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. And may I, who should lead her on, never prove a stumblingblock in her way to Christ; for this end, O my God! grant me a greater portion of Thy Grace, a more enlarged fellowship of Thy Holy Spirit, that I may conduct myself as a Christian minister, and give no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed. O my God! I have much to confess, much to deplore, much to entreat Thy pardon for, much to amend. Unable of myself to do anything, I throw myself on Thy Mercy, humbly, heartily, earnestly imploring mercy and pardon for the past, and the constraining influence of Thy Holy Spirit for the future."

Mr. and Mrs. Gray went on their wedding-day to Greta Bridge, and remained in the north, to which both were so much attached, all their honeymoon, visiting Richmond, Easby Abbey, remaining a week at Grinkle, then going on to Whitby, Scarborough, and Helmsley,[1] and returning to Old Park, October 7th, having ridden nearly four hundred miles during the month. They now settled at Old Park as their home, and a quietly active life began. One of the first things that strikes one is the regular reading of Holy Scripture together. Mr. Gray's Journal has continual entries, such as "Read nearly all the Epistles to Sophy;" "Read part of the Book of Genesis, with Commentary, to Sophy." After a time, he says, "I do not intend to read more of this Commentary [Religious Tract Society]. It is rather a continued course of sermons than an exposition of Scripture. When I am looking for a plain elucidation of Scripture truth, I find in its stead a spiritual application of it. This is often very excellent, though I think also often very refined, far-fetched, and irrelevant. The mind is thus withdrawn from the consideration of the Sacred text, and the time for the most part taken up with considering the possible deductions from it. I have resolved therefore to go on with Joshua without any commentary, reading two or three chapters every day, and also to read along with it my Father's *Key*."

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[1] In Mrs. Gray's pocket-book there is an entry,—"*Oct. 4th.* Rode to Castle Howard and Helmsley. *5th.* Rode to Byland,—called at Duncombe Park,—rode to Rievaulx and sketched. *6th.* Rode to Rievaulx, and over the moor by Kirkby Moorside to Grinkle."

Mr. Gray's great love of general literature, and the lively interest with which he followed out every variety of subject—geology, natural history, legendary lore, biography, and history, etc. etc.—no doubt tended largely to promote his usefulness, and to widen and strengthen his vigorous intellect. In later years he used to recommend the Clergy to read general subjects, and keep their minds alive to the questions and sympathies of the day; but at this time he was scrupulous as to his own discursive studies, and took himself severely to task for them. "What I have most to find fault with in myself is the way I have frittered away my time. I have no fixed steady plan of theological reading, but I suffer my time to be occupied and attention distracted by books of general reading, which every one is ready enough to lend. With all that I have before me, this is perfectly inexcusable. The course of study I have marked out for myself is, first, a general view of the Reformation in Europe, specially in England. Then a rapid course of Church History, as far as may be learnt from the works of Mosheim and Milner. Afterwards a few of the best works on Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity; and lastly, to work out a complete system of doctrine from the writings of our best Divines. Never to pass a day, however, without studying some portion of the Greek New Testament. As far as the practical part goes, continued preparation of sermons, and my daily morning readings with Sophy, may suffice. God grant that I may be able to accomplish some such scheme as this. I may then take up more largely my favourite study of Ecclesiastical History. I must throw aside all ephemeral works, and apply the little time I have for study to those things which really belong to my profession. Let me see what difference there will be this time year."

His day was mapped out, and cannot be called idle, especially if compared with the ordinary standard of parish work forty years ago. He was dressed by 7.30, spending the time before 9 o'clock breakfast in study or preparing his extempore sermons; then came reading the Bible with his wife, followed by sermon-writing or study till 1 o'clock, when he went out into his parish, not *less* than three days in the week, till 5 o'clock dinner. After that came letter-writing and lighter reading, and from 8 to 10 P.M. reading aloud. From 10 to 11 was devoted to studying the Greek Testament, but that hour was apt to be absorbed by working up something for which time had not been found earlier. Constant examinations in the schools are alluded to, and a variety of other parochial work. At the close of this, to him, eventful year 1836, Mr. Gray, as usual, reviews what has passed. "I see much cause for self-abasement, much for gratitude, and some, I would hope, for encouragement. As far as external worldly circumstances are concerned, there is much reason for thankfulness. I have been blessed with a more than common share of health; I have met with much kindness from friends; I have enough, and more than enough, for the supply of every want and comfort; and I have been blessed with a fond and affectionate wife, whose tastes and occupations agree with my own, and who is willing and anxious, as far as in her lies, to become my helpmeet in the duties of my profession. . . . As far as my *external* parochial duties are concerned, I have not much to reproach myself with. I have been active and busy, up and stirring, and have perhaps devoted as much time as I ought to have done to the mere physical labour of going from house to house. But this is all that can be said for me. When amongst my people my time has not been turned to the best account; I have been deficient in persuading, instructing, warning, and reproving them. I fear at times I have not been bold enough; I have not sufficiently sought after those perishing souls who deliberately live in neglect of God, or spoken to them with faithfulness and affection. With regard to sermons, too, I have not made sufficient preparation for them by study, meditation, and prayer, especially in my afternoon extempore sermon; thus I have often fed my people with husks." . . . .

The year 1837 was chiefly spent in quiet work, and much reading. The wide grasp of Mr. Gray's mind, and his power of exhausting books and making their substance his own, is very striking in these month-to-month records. There is always a mind of his own at work—he never drops into mere conventionalities; and if sometimes he expresses crude opinions of books or principles, such as later on he saw ground to change, they are at least always expressed with humility as well as independence of thought. Thus he writes:—"Bridges' *Christian Ministry*, the general scope of which I think excellent. I hope I have received much good from him, and shall, I hope, receive still more, as I purpose reading it over again soon. There are, of course, peculiar opinions of which I cannot see the force or admit the truth, but this may be more my fault than his."

So too, in public matters, he could not keep from forming and acting upon a deliberate opinion. Soon after a short visit to the south, he writes: "Much interested about the Elections. Believing, as I most solemnly do, that at the beginning of a new reign, with a young girl upon the throne, men's minds wild for every scheme of so-called liberal tendency, much will depend upon the Parliament which shall be returned; believing too, that the Liberal party are more than half prepared to sacrifice the Established Church, in the safety of which I consider the welfare and happiness and religious character of this country is involved; I think I should be wanting in my duty to my people and my God, if I did not warn them of the danger which will arise from returning "Liberal" members, and I have therefore spoken individually to all the Electors who are in my parish, and advised them how to vote. Others may condemn me for mixing in what they call political matters, but before God my conscience acquits me. I believe it to be a religious duty. In the preservation of the Church is involved, (humanly speaking) the preservation of Christianity; defending that, we are defending the cause of God."

One of those fits of discouragement which must from time to time lower over the best and steadiest workers in the Church's vineyard, swept across Mr. Gray about this time, and he says: "Much disheartened at the general apathy of my people, especially their neglect of Sunday. Have been much in prayer for them, and for a blessing on my ministry. Resolved to be more diligent in teaching every man and warning every man;—sought earnestly for God's grace, that I might be enabled to preach the Word with all boldness and clearness,—feelingly and convincingly, and that souls might be awakened and brought to the knowledge of the truth. I think I have prayed nearly every day for my people since I took charge of this parish, but I do not think that at any time I have prayed with more earnestness than during the last month."

He was, no doubt, suffering at this time under rather too heavy a strain of work. In a letter to his sister he says: "I shall be glad to get a little relaxation; I feel that I want to get away for a week or two. . . . I have very troublesome and discouraging work with my people, and I have the still more discouraging task of reforming myself;—all together are more than I can well manage, and I shall not be sorry to escape for a few weeks from the former. . . . I have lately had a bad accident in my parish. The navigators work at the railroad night and day. Last Thursday one was completely smashed by a fall of earth in a deep cut:—dead in an instant. They all subscribed to his funeral, and came in a body (upwards of one hundred) to his burial. This was good feeling, which I was glad to see, as they are a sad profligate set of fellows. As they almost to a man spend their Sunday in the public-house instead of the church, I thought such an opportunity was not to be lost, and as I had fairly got them inside my church, whence they could not decently escape, rather uncanonically and irregularly I gave them an extempore sermon, to which they patiently submitted. They were the most uncouth congregation I ever addressed."

On the 21st September, 1837, their first child was born:—There is much indicated in the brief record that the husband "read and prayed daily" with his wife during her time of weakness and seclusion; and on the 3rd October, his twenty-eighth birthday, Mrs. Gray re-appeared downstairs, a fact gratefully recorded. "From the hour when she gave birth to her little girl to the present hour, neither she nor the child have suffered a moment's pain or uneasiness. Each day brings with it fresh causes for gratitude. O that the unnumbered mercies and blessings of God had their due effect upon me! This too is my birthday. I do hope that during the past year my religious principles and feelings have not diminished. O that I could perceive more undoubted proofs of steady progress in the things of God!

"Let me note my present practice and feelings, in order that, should God be pleased to spare my life for another year, I may have a sort of landmark by which I may trace my course, and test my religious state. To begin with Prayer—I fear that both my family and private prayers are most frequently cold and languid;—sometimes, indeed, I feel, much fervour and earnestness, especially in intercessory prayer on behalf of my people, when I have been previously thinking of their apathy and hardness of heart. I think I have more freedom in prayer during the day, either when walking, or preparing my sermon, or when any train of thought has led me to pray. I think I may say that I never prepare a sermon without entreating my God to direct me to a suitable subject, and to enable me to treat it faithfully, fully, and clearly; nor ever preach one without begging a special blessing from God in the convincing, awakening, and edifying my people. And these prayers, I would hope, are always earnest. But my prayers during the day, as they are not conducted upon any plan or system, frequently fall short, and sometimes whole days are spent without any at all. I am idle in my self-examinations; and though I profess every night to review the day that is past, it is almost always done, I fear, in a very superficial and cursory manner. With regard to my study of the Word of God, there is much fault to be found. I am very ignorant of my Bible, and do not read it near enough.[1] I hope by God's Grace to amend this. With regard to general studies, I have not been idle, though they have been far too diffuse and secular. With regard to parochial duties, I am always from three to four days every week (from one o'clock to five or six) visiting from house to house, or examining the school. The time is perhaps as much as I need give, or could consistently with other duties. But there is much fault to be found with the tone of my conversation with the people. It is not sufficiently to the point: it is not always warning, teaching, exhorting, rebuking; but I too readily give way to worldly conversation, and I am not sufficiently faithful. With regard to my family, I am not sufficiently strict and unflinching in requiring double attendance at Church; and with regard to dear Sophy, I blame myself exceedingly for not conversing with her upon our own religious views and practice. I see that it might be of infinite importance to us both. I am sure she would readily concur with my views, and yet I hold my tongue, from an invincible repugnance to speak of my own religious experience. I hope, if my neglect be sinful, God will forgive me; or rather that He will make an opening: With regard to my own practice, I have most to condemn my pettishness and impetuosity of temper. I have sinned grievously of late in thought. My feelings too are decidedly worldly. I consider it one of the marks of God's kind Providence, that I am placed here very much out of the way of general society, and that I have married a wife who would never *wish* to dine out; because I am fully aware that the love of such society as is within my reach is my peculiar snare."

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[1] Compare with this self-imputed ignorance and insufficient study of God's Word, the continual steady reading of the same which we find through all his Journal.

Evidently both Mr. Gray's reading and preaching were taking a more definite and doctrinal mould at this time. He preached a course of ten sermons on the Lord's Prayer, and another on Baptism, which latter led to a good deal of careful and close study of the whole subject of Baptismal Regeneration. Perhaps in later years he would have drawn up a somewhat different list of the authorities he studied; but, as it was, he carefully read and examined Hammond, Barrow, Mant (Sermons on Regeneration and Conversion), Simeon, Robinson, Dodsworth, Wall, Leighton, Secker, Frith, Milner, etc.; and above all he carefully studied all Holy Scripture bearing upon the subject, comparing it with the doctrines of the Church; and the result of his studies was thus summed up:—

"I. That Baptism is generally necessary to salvation.

"II. That wherever it is rightly administered and properly received, it is always accompanied by certain spiritual blessings.

"These blessings are—1st, *Forgiveness of sins that are past.* Acts ii. 38; xxii. 16.

"2nd, *The influence and assistance of the Holy Spirit.* S. John iii. 5; Tit. iii. 4-7; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Col. ii. 12; Rom. vi. 4-5; Eph. v. 25-7; 1 Cor. xii. 13; 1 S. Peter iii. 21.

"3rd. A title to all privileges of the Gospel; become Members of Christ, Children of God, Heirs of Kingdom of Heaven.

"These blessings, I believe, are conferred *in, by, through* Baptism; that is, that Baptism is God's appointed means or channel through which He is pleased to convey these spiritual blessings to the soul.

"By '*rightly administered*' I understand that it should be in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with water, and by God's ordained minister.

"By '*properly received*' I understand with Repentance and Faith, where the subject is capable of these graces. And that, in the case of infants, it is sufficient that the Sacrament be rightly administered."

The year of 1838 began by Mr. Gray's going to the south, half sad at leaving his wife and babe at home, "without any one to comfort her or bear her company during my absence," for his brother Charles's wedding, which took place at Hughenden on January 11th, the bride being Miss Agnes Norris. Journeys from the north were rather more of an undertaking then than now: he had to take a coach to Leeds, then a mail at midnight to Manchester, where he arrived just in time to miss the first train. In due course of time another took him to Birmingham, where again he got a coach to Henley through Oxford. Mr. Gray had only just returned to Whitworth, when his cousin and esteemed friend, Mr. Robert Gray of Sunderland

("Cousin Robert"), died of typhus fever, caught while visiting his sick parishioners. "To him to live was Christ, and to die, gain. His loss to Sunderland is, humanly speaking, irreparable. All seem to feel deeply as if they had lost a father or a brother. His funeral was public,—the whole population present. I hear from all quarters the highest testimonies to his character; Churchmen and Dissenters all agree alike in proclaiming his praise."

Some of the notices of books in this year's journal bear evident token of an advance in the tone of the writer's mind. He was reading Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* with close attention. "The edition which I inadvertently picked up," he says, "is by a rabid dissenter, who omits no opportunity in his copious notes of firing popguns at Hooker, which, however, for the most part, fall very harmless. On the whole, it is just as well to have this edition, for we here have all they *can* say against his book. With all his excellences" (it will comfort some students to hear Mr. Gray add), "I cannot but think Hooker unnecessarily prolix! His style is involved, and his sentences and sections occasionally terribly long-winded!" And a little later: "Hooker proceeds calmly, and as a perfect master of his subject, to expose the weakness of the Puritans' objections to the forms and ceremonies of the Church." Nor was Hooker his only piece of solid, hard reading that year. Newton on *Prophecies*, Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Hallam's *Introduction to European Literature*, are noted down, as well as a large quantity of other books. He was greatly delighted with the *Life of William Wilberforce;* and bearing in mind his later intimacy with and affection for one of the sons of that eminent man, and one of the authors of that life, Bishop Wilberforce, the notice Mr. Gray makes of the book is very interesting:—"I think it is not only a very entertaining, but a very valuable publication; politically, historically, and morally valuable. We have here the evidence of a man attached to no party, living on terms of intimacy with the great men of his day, and speaking the truth in the fear of God, respecting the character of those with whom he mixed. His observations, too, never intended for the public eye, but his own reflections in his daily Journal. For my own part, I confess that nothing henceforth will ever shake my convictions of the high integrity and noble patriotism of Pitt. Wilberforce's remarks upon Pitt's character year after year, both in his private letters and journals, when most opposed to him, are very striking. The book furnishes very excellent material for this period of our history, and it is chiefly valuable in this point because Wilberforce was behind the curtain—perfectly unprejudiced—writing only for his own satisfaction, or (in his letters) to his confidential friends; but above all because every one must feel that he never said a word or wrote a line which he did not believe to be true. But its chief value is, I think, in a religious point of view. There can be but little doubt, I think, but that this book will be read by many who would not read a religious book, and yet perhaps no religious work would be more likely to awaken religious feelings. It shows how a Christian may be in the world and yet not of the world; it affords a beautiful specimen of the Christian's growth in holiness; it is a lasting evidence of the influence of Christian principle uprooting pride, ambition, selfishness, indolence, and compelling men to live to the Glory of God. It is a striking instance of the fulfilment of the promise—'Him that honoureth Me, I will honour.' It shows the means which must be used by all who would walk as he walked—in continual watchfulness, self-accusation, study of the Word, meditation, self-denial, prayer, public ordinances and sacraments of the Church. It contains too, in almost every page, some statements of Christian truth, so that it cannot be read without at least presenting us with a body of practical, doctrinal, and experimental religion. I would humbly hope the reading of it has not been without its use to me, and that I may by it be stirred up to greater diligence in the concerns of my own soul."

The newly-widowed Mrs. Robert Gray and her children were guests at Old Park that summer, and the elder Mrs. Gray (the Bishop's widow) also came to stay with her son, as well as other members of the family, consuming time and thoughts. An object, too, which lay near his heart was to get a seemly chapel built at Byer's Green, instead of the schoolroom, where, since Mr. Gray first began them, services had been held regularly. There are some rough copies of letters to the Bishop of Durham on this subject, which show how earnestly he had the interests of this his adopted flock at heart.

"Should the coal-field adjoining Byer's Green not be worked, the population will in all probability not materially increase, and there would in that case be no very urgent necessity for building a chapel. If, on the other hand, however, your Lordship's coal should be worked, and the pit population be located in Byer's Green, I must most decidedly differ from Mr. —— in thinking that your Lordship's bounty could be better bestowed than in endowing and building a chapel for the very people who are working that coal. It would seem to me that they had the strongest, and I may add the only claim upon your liberality. . . . [Here follow certain local particulars.] The population in all these districts has been created or considerably increased by the working of the coal of different proprietors; and upon them alone, I think, rests the responsibility of providing religious instruction for the people they have drawn together."

And again later, though both copies are undated:—"I thank your Lordship for your very liberal offer, an offer which will, I hope, secure to the coal district around Byer's Green a place of worship and a resident minister. I agree with your Lordship in thinking that 1840 will be the earliest period for building, and I shall be glad to employ the intermediate time in making application to the different parties interested, Church Building Societies, and in arranging any preliminary matters.

"In a former letter to your Lordship, I mentioned what I thought would be the only effectual provision for the religious instruction of the pit population in this neighbourhood. It is unnecessary for me to enter into this question now further than to observe that it included a chapel for Byer's Green, and another for Tudhoe, the whole of my parish, with its very small church, lying between these districts. Your Lordship will, I believe, be personally interested only in the Byer's Green district. The Tudhoe population consisting only of Mr. Shafto's and Mr. Bryan Salvin's pits, I take it for granted that your Lordship would wish the whole of your donation to be applied to the Byer's Green Chapel, and the more so, because there will not be the same necessity for *endowing* a chapel at Tudhoe, as it may easily be built within the limits of my parish.

"One thing I should take the liberty of mentioning, and that is that it will be very important, when your Lordship's coal is worked, that the pit-houses should be built as near the present village of Byer's Green as possible. We should then have the whole population thrown very much together, and consequently nearer the church."

The warm interest Mr. Gray took on behalf of this Byer's Green and its population was still more emphatically proved by an offer which he received on the 15th September, 1838, of the living of Crossgate, Durham. The thoughtful way in which he balanced the *pros* and *cons,* and the absence of self and self-seeking in the matter, is very striking:—"Received a letter from the Bishop of Chester, urging me to accept the living of Crossgate, which he assures me would be offered me. Letter flattering and kind. I am much distressed at this offer—very sorry that it has been made. Fear, too, there is no time to consult pious friends. I hope, with all due allowance for the deceitfulness of my own heart, that I am prepared to go wherever I may most promote the Glory of God and the spiritual welfare of my fellow-sinners. Yet my *inclination* is decidedly to decline the offer. I have prayed for guidance, that I may form a right decision. I will put on paper, as I did with regard to Hughenden, the *pros* and *cons* of the case.

"*Arguments for remaining at Whitworth.*—Sought it—like it—content to live and die here;—acceptable to people. . . Hope I am in some degree useful:—I have taken other duty (Byer's Green), which in all probability would be neglected by my successor. The population of my parish nearly certain to increase.

" Uncertain with respect to Byer's Green—cannot, however, be less than one thousand, may be more. Probably Chapel not be built, at least for years, unless I remain here. The increase at Whitworth will probably be 1,500 souls. Chapel must be built near Tudhoe. But what probability of this if I leave?

" Old Park in some measure my own. Intend to purchase it. Sophy fond of it; gives me, I think, some increase of influence and usefulness.

" *Against remaining at Whitworth.*—Winter very trying to health in wet country; small population; might increase my usefulness by leaving. It is *possible* the population may not increase. I am too much of a squire, perhaps, for my own good.

" *Arguments for accepting Crossgate.*—Immediate increase of usefulness. Probability of very important living going to inefficient man. Having private fortune, could do more than others. I might keep a curate, which another man might not be able to do. Might with Blessing of God be able to give good direction to minds of divinity students. There seem to be no clergymen in Durham inclined to give them the opportunity of learning the work of a parish. Might be of use in this respect, and so very extensively to the Church. I am in some respects better suited to a town than the country. Durham with its dry walks might contribute to my health. Emolument somewhat greater.

Arguments against accepting Crossgate.—The Chapter may give it to an inefficient man, and the Bishop of Chester seems to hint as much; but am I responsible for the acts of the Chapter? If they wish for an efficient man there are plenty to be found, much more so than myself. I am not altogether suited to the wants of that parish. It requires a man of commanding mind to take the lead, influence others, direct the minds of principal laity (almost all of whom now frequent that church). My ability not sufficient; temper too yielding and pliant. Work possibly beyond my strength; much temptation in society of old friends; should fear yielding too much to that. I am rather too young; deficient in knowledge; mind not made up upon several very important points upon which I might be called to act. I might possibly be led to changes of opinion, and from that cause lose influence and respect."

The result of this earnestly conscientious consideration was —"Resolved to decline the offer of Crossgate. Called on the Archdeacon at his request: he very civil, obliging, and pressing that I should accept. Stated my reasons for declining. He seemed to think them sufficient and satisfactory. Suggested to him the names of one or two valuable men. Wrote to the Bishop of Chester; stated my case plainly to him. He perfectly approves of my decision—kind letter."

The allusions Mr. Gray makes to the probable benefit of a drier locality in winter were not without cause. He was suffering then, and continued for some time to do so, from severe inflammation of the eyes and ulcerated sore throat, which seriously interfered with his work and gave some cause for anxiety to his friends. He went to Redcar for a time, and returned home better, but the malady returned, and all November he was quite ill and unable to do any work. At the end of December he writes: "Worse and worse all this month. At length, upon the strong recommendation of Green, and the pressing advice of all here, I have resolved to go to the south, if necessary, for three months, both for change of climate and for further advice. May God enable me to profit by all His Mercies, whether they assume the shape of a smile or a frown. I cannot but think that this light affliction is meant to be a warning voice. It must be looked upon as a special call to 'lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset me, and to run with patience the race that is set before me, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my Faith.' O that I might have grace to lay this warning to heart, and listen to its still small voice, and take more heed to my ways."

On January 3rd, 1839, Mr. Gray and all his family, including his mother, went up to London, to Dr. Williamson, in Dean's Yard, remaining there (excepting occasional visits to other members of his family) till the end of April. He consulted Mr. (afterwards Sir B.) Brodie, who found his throat in a bad state, and his general health much deranged. During these four months of rest from parochial work, Mr. Gray was by no means idle. He wrote a great many sermons, and his reading, as usual, was extensive and careful. He was beginning, now, for the first time, to take a keen interest in the writings issuing forth from Oxford concerning the revival of Church principles; and it is most interesting to watch his sober, deliberate study of the *Tracts for the Times,* finally accepting, as he did, their teaching in most things, not from impulse or personal leanings, but from a deep conviction of its truth.

The first mention of the *Tracts for the Times* occurs in January, 1839, when Mr. Gray says: "My object is to read the Tracts through, that I may judge for myself whether the charges of their opponents are true—*i.e.* that their doctrines are unscriptural and contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. As far as I have gone, I see little or nothing to object to in their principles, though I would by no means subscribe to all their *opinions.* I cannot but hope that the discussion of these vital questions will be productive of good. I fear the most zealous and spiritual-minded of our clergy entertain low opinions of the Blessed Sacraments, and of the nature and authority of the Church. May we not hope eventually to see these matters clearly defined and settled? I am very glad that the attention of the clergy is being drawn to them, and trust they may in God's good time end in the union of His dismembered Church, and the conviction that schism is a sinful thing."

After three months' painstaking study he writes more confidently: "I have been much pleased with these Tracts, notwithstanding the great outcry raised against them. Sure I am that their principles are in the main those of the Church of England. There are some passages and opinions to which I cannot assent, and some which require consideration and reflection. They are written for the most part in a pious, humble spirit, and are, I cannot but think, calculated to do much good, by leading Churchmen to a study of their own principles." Tract XC. and the controversy arising out of it interested him intensely: he "read and read over again" all the pamphlets, letters, etc., which appeared on this subject, and found Dr. Pusey's most interesting. Mr. Gray read all that came forth on the subject of the Church revival with the same lively interest. He mentions a sermon of Dr. Hook's in December, 1839 (the subject is not noted), as "with copious notes. This *is* a book! It is one of the clearest and most striking exhibitions of High Church views that I have read, and contains much valuable matter in the notes."

"Wilberforce's *Parochial System.* A very admirable little work. True and sound views.

"Tracts of the Anglican Fathers. Sermons and tracts written by the Fathers of the English Church, re-published to prove that our reformers held High Church views, especially on the Sacraments and Apostolical succession. The language is very strong, and sometimes in the sermons on the Eucharist, the expressions border on Consubstantiation.

"Gresley's *Portrait of a Churchman.* An admirable book, placing the principles of the Church before the reader in a light and popular manner.

"Palmer's *Treatise on the Church.* Very able and interesting. I would not undertake to subscribe to *all* his opinions, but I am very thankful to have fallen in with his book, and hope to get much good from it.

"Benson's *Four Sermons against Tracts for the Times.* Written calmly and reasonably, but his views are low. He insists that each man must interpret Scripture for himself, values the Apostolical Commission, yet defends the claims of anti-Episcopal bodies to be considered as branches of the true Church!"

Mr. Gladstone's *State in its Relation to the Church* struck him immensely, though he thought the style involved, "but the tone is noble and elevated. It is a most interesting and able defence of High Church principles, and evidencing much religious feeling. Though not prepared to subscribe to every opinion advanced in his book, I should be heartily glad to see such a man as Gladstone occupying a high position in the councils of the nation." He goes on to make one extract, which must often have been brought before his mind in after years.

"The duty of the Sovereign towards the Church in virtue of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy, seems to consist mainly of the *Executive* duty of defending it under the existing laws; the *Judicial* duty of determining all questions which arise in mixed subject-matter out of the relations between the Church and the State; and the *Negative* duty of permitting the Church to enter from time to time upon the consideration of matters of her own internal government, to be subsequently proposed to the Great Council of the nation, that its members may have the opportunity of judging how they affect the compact, and that the Church may know by their assent that it continues unimpaired. And if, in reference to the anomalies of modern legislation, this shall appear to be a theory, let a fair consideration of our whole history declare whether it does not express the ancient practice and the general spirit of the constitution better than the precedents drawn from periods of indifference or oppression, or both." Mr. Gladstone's *Church Principles*, somewhat later on, also greatly pleased Mr. Gray. "An admirable and most interesting book," he calls it.

Mr. Gray at this time also studied various Patristic writers —S. Clement, S. Ignatius, S. Cyprian, etc.—in the original text, the better to establish himself in what he believed to be true and sound Catholic principles. Thus, ending the Epistles of S. Ignatius, he says: "My views confirmed with regard to the sin of schism, the necessity of Unity, the doctrine of the Sacraments, and the three Orders." S. Cyprian specially delighted him, and was copiously marked for the extract-book. But his reading was not at all exclusive, or confined to Church writers or ecclesiastical subjects, though, as must always be the case, the Churchman's mind was brought to bear on all that presented itself. He always read history with eagerness, and a military man could scarcely be more fascinated with Colonel Gurwood's edition of the *Duke of Wellington's Despatches*, the numerous volumes of which were devoured with intense interest.[1] Lord Brougham's *Contemporary Characters* interested him, though, he says, "a Churchman of principle is always a bigot with him;" Hallam, Scott—travels, memoirs, Church histories, antiquities, *Quarterly* and other reviews—all came into his net, and all were calmly and temperately weighed.

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[1] "They are unique, and it is impossible to describe them, or say how much one admires them. They are wonderful compositions."

Towards the end of April, 1839, Mr. Gray and his family returned home by water, sailing on a Saturday and landing at Middlesbro' on the Monday. He said the Church offices on deck for the passengers on the Sunday. Mr. Gray's health was now much improved, and he devoted himself again with all his old energy to the parish work which had so largely been increased by his voluntary efforts for the neglected neighbourhood. A new line of railway was being made at this time through that country, and he found an addition to his parishioners of some three hundred navvies and their families. "Population daily increasing," he says. "Can, for the most part, make no impression upon the navvies. Some few attend Church and school service. Congregations very good—school especially, some frequently unable to find seats." He was very much occupied with parochial visiting, sick people, preparation for Confirmation, etc.; and yet with all this he contrived to get an "average of about eight hours a day for reading and writing of all sorts." It certainly was not the Priest's fault if his parish did not advance as he desired, or had at first thought it did. Probably his own increasing perceptions as to what was to be looked for had something to do with his dissatisfaction. Compare Mr. Gray's ordinary life with that implied as common among the Clergy at a period not so very far distant, in an Ordination sermon of Dr. Paley's, preached in the Diocese of Carlisle, and quoted early in 1839 by him: "Strictly *advice;* a moral lecture. It serves to show, however, how very corrupt the Church must have been in that day. He warns those who are just ordained against open fornication, drunkenness, tippling in public-houses, being 'seen at drunken feasts, boisterous sports, late hours, barbarous diversions.' That such an exhortation should have been deemed applicable by so sober and grave a person as Paley is a melancholy proof of the dissolute character of the Clergy at that time. There is not one word of doctrine in the whole sermon, nor does it seem that he thought they could be affected by his taking high ground, for he only insists upon external decency and decorum. We may thank God that such an Ordination sermon would in these days be deemed an insult to the Clergy by their enemies equally with their friends." Such a state of things had not unnaturally prepared much disappointment and discouragement for a better race of men; and in this autumn of 1839, amid his active anxious work, the young Incumbent of Whitworth (he was then just thirty) says, "Much disheartened at the little fruits I see among my people. After two years' labour I thought I perceived a gradual improvement. For these last two years, owing to the horrible depravity of the men engaged in the public works, I think I have perceived a gradual falling off. I pray for them, however, night and day, and continue to warn, reprove, rebuke, and exhort, and I will trust that in due season I shall reap if I faint not. I have been tried, too, by the various endeavours to create dissent in the place. Now some Ranters come every Sunday and Tuesday. I have, therefore, lately preached upon the Ministerial office and commission. May God preserve all in the Unity of the Faith, and keep and deliver us from heresy and schism. I have been circulating some of the earlier numbers of the *Tracts for the Times*."

But, however disheartened, he never ceased to plan and toil to remedy the evil; and, at this very time, a letter to his sister Mrs. Williamson shows how energetic he was in his efforts to provide more spiritual help to the people around him:—". . . We are not likely immediately to want R.'s kind contribution to my church. We are at present merely watching where the population which is hovering over our heads will settle down, in order that we may know what will be the most eligible sites for churches. You will say our notions go on enlarging with the prospects of enlarged populations, when I tell you that five churches or chapels (if not six) are contemplated in this neighbourhood. Such is, however, the case, and I hope with every prospect of ultimate success. Indeed we are remarkably favoured, for all parties concerned (or nearly all) profess a disposition to fulfil the obligations which rest upon them of providing religious instruction for the people they bring together. The Company are very anxious, and have been with me, and *talk* exceedingly liberally. And John Shafto, I am told, means to give up £200 per annum for the endowment of two churches. The country here is in a most deplorable state; we cannot go out without wading through a sea of mud, and the roads are getting worse and worse every day. . . . I should be glad if R., when he next has an opportunity, would send me Pusey on *Baptism*, and the third volume of *Tracts for the Times*."

He was ready enough to believe himself to be at fault in the failure among his people. At the close of the year he says: "I have not so much fault to find with myself for want of active exertion, because I am for the most part several hours of each day in my parish; but I fear I am too often active about nothing. I have to complain of extraordinary coldness and dulness in my pastoral visits. I do not improve these opportunities sufficiently to press upon every person the danger of neglecting their souls. I often leave a house without having spoken plainly and faithfully where I ought to have done so, and where I wished also to have done so, and this owing to my stupidity, and, I fear I must add, through not sufficiently feeling the worth and the value of immortal souls. Lord, make me more diligent, more faithful, more bold to speak the Word in love to sinners! If I look to my people, the prospect is not cheering. I fear instead of progressing they have gone back. There are several who used to be regular attendants at the House of God who are now seldom to be seen; and though my population has increased, my congregation has, if anything, decreased. This I attribute, first, to my own inefficiency, and failing to make myself clearly understood, and arresting attention by interesting the mind. But I do not think this is the chief cause. Every house is full of lodgers. This has necessarily kept the women much at home on the Lord's Day; and the bad example which these strangers set, scarcely any of them appearing in the House of God, has, I fear, not been without its effect on my own people. Though there are some few encouraging things, the general aspect of religion amongst my people is anything but encouraging. This may be, and probably is, in part to humble me. Success might have filled me with self-conceit, and prevented my giving all the glory to God. Now I am taught my own nothingness, my inability to do anything for God. I have at times been greatly discouraged, and even dejected; but I think that when most disheartened God has graciously been pleased to give me some little encouragement. I trust, however, that I feel that duties belong to me, but results to God; and I hope I am well persuaded in my mind to labour diligently and unweariedly in my Lord's vineyard. At times I have been very earnest in prayer with God for a blessing on my ministry. I hope I have felt in some degree what it is to wrestle in prayer; but my prayers, I grieve to feel, are in a general way dull, listless, wandering, formal. May God give me more and more the spirit of prayer. The increase of my flock, owing to the pits and railroads, calls for more diligence and zeal. How disheartening it is to find that about one-half of the new-comers are Dissenters—many of them very bigoted and spiritually proud. I do warn them in a spirit of meekness against the sinfulness of schism, and I have not as yet, that I am aware of, offended any by so doing. I hope God approves. I have prayed for guidance in this respect, and hope I am right."

Work has always a tendency to increase upon those who are willing to do it, and the year 1840 opened out a new sphere of activity to Mr. Gray, which probably was, under God's Providence, the first step that led to his being called to his great Missionary work for the Church in Africa. In January 1840 he says: "Much engaged this month in writing letters to the principal laity of the county, inviting them to support the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which I have undertaken the Secretaryship; also in calling upon the Clergy, chiefly in the great towns, to induce them to form Parochial Associations. There is a very general inclination upon the part of nearly all of them to do so, and some, I hope, are already actually formed. The annual subscription list is at present £83. I shall not be content with ten times this sum." From this time his work for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was untiring and arduous. "Much engaged with S. P. G.;" "Much occupied writing letters to both Clergy and Laity for S. P. G., endeavouring to arrange a course of sermons and meetings throughout the country;" "Incessant letters for S. P. G. occupied nearly all my time;" and records of sermons preached in various places, and meetings attending, are constantly recurring entries. It may be worthy of notice that, while throwing all his weight and influence into the cause of this Society, which he considered the true organ of the Church, Mr. Gray did not ignore the work of the Church Missionary Society, but in July 1840 we find sermons preached both at Whitworth and Byer's Green, and collections made in its behalf. He was also bestirring himself actively with the Company and with Mr. Shafto about building a school at Whitworth and a church at Hillington, and his parochial work was becoming more and more earnest and devoted in spite of discouragement. There were seasons of hope and encouragement too. Thus he writes: "*June* 14, 1840.—In many respects this day has been one of comfort. In the morning service I prayed, I hope, with the Spirit and with the understanding also; indeed I never pray so fervently as in the public congregation, and I think every Lord's Day I love the Church services more and more; I feel their beauty and suitableness. In the evening I preached with more freedom and accuracy than usual. Extempore preaching still makes me feel uncomfortable, and when done, I feel as if I had delivered a task. Morning congregation 114—full; Evening about 60—not quite an average."

But while adding to his work on all sides, he was alive to the danger of becoming too much immersed in external duties, and slurring over more private and personal matters. He was continually on the watch lest his self-examination should be slurred over and become formal, or his study of Holy Scripture lacking in devout meditation and prayer. "I am always *doing* something," he says, "and have a sort of feeling that when not reading I am idle. This is very absurd." And such passages as the following indicate his watchfulness:—"I fear that when I find people neglecting public worship, I feel as much mortified at my want of success as at God's dishonour. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in me." Various practical matters, too, grew upon him as his Church principles became more and more fixed; and it was part of his character to apply to his own daily life whatever he grasped and accepted as a principle. So we find him saying: "Though I am convinced fasting is a duty, I quite neglect the Fridays through the year; and it has never even occurred to me to fast during the Ember Days which have just passed. I must make a change. I have not fasted since Lent. The principle, I am sure, is Scriptural and sound; the Church, too, commands it, the only difficulty is to settle the degree." Henceforward he notes this subject, and alludes to the Friday fast as a point of self-examination. He became more anxious, too, about family prayer, and having used a Commentary on the Bible daily at this office, came to the conclusion that a few simple extempore words would be more useful, and more likely to fix the attention of his household, and consequently resolved to adopt this plan. Eventually he took to reading the second Lesson for the day at family prayers. His sermons increased in dogmatic teaching—Courses on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostolic Commission, and like matters, were carefully prepared and preached; and his belief in the need for teaching sound Church doctrine became more and more confirmed, and took shape in various ways, as did his ever-increasing yearning after Unity—a yearning which did indeed grow stronger and stronger to the very end of his life. This belief is constantly expressed in his Journal, as, *e.g.*, "Read Beaven on *Intercourse with Eastern Churches:* an excellent, sound principled, and reasonable publication; it is very consoling in the present day, amongst many circumstances of a discouraging nature, to see Church principles spreading far and wide." And on the birth of his son (August 24th, 1840), he expresses his conviction in very clear language:—"May God grant that he may grow up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. If his life be spared, may he one day be a faithful minister of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, a witness for his Lord to a sinful generation. God grant that I myself may be more faithful, watchful, zealous, and that I may live in the spirit of prayer. O that in these dangerous days I may be guided to the truth as it is in Jesus. I am more and more convinced that what are called CHURCH PRINCIPLES are the true Gospel principles. Lord, open mine eyes if I be in error, and give me grace if right to speak the truth boldly as I ought to speak. My danger lies, I believe, now in the fear of man. I dread giving offence, and perhaps losing the good opinion of those I esteem by decidedly avowing my principles. The same holds good with regard to my people. I do not like to offend them (put a stumblingblock in their way). My idea of my duty, if I would be faithful to my God, is to speak the truth in love, with tenderness and consideration for weak consciences. Perhaps, however, I am justified in not laying too great stress on Church principles, on the ground that they are not able to bear it. O for a single eye,—a mind free from prejudice,—loving truth, desiring above all things the promotion of God's Glory. We do not know, oftentimes, what spirit we are of; but if I do know my heart, I believe its desire is to glorify God. I really from my soul believe that if I could look upon dissenters as God's ministers, and doing according to His Will in preaching the Gospel, I would, notwithstanding their rancour and hostility to my own branch of the Church of Christ, receive them as such, give them the post of honour, and be content to be a doorkeeper in the House of my God."

Again, early in 1841, after reading Fremantle's *Letter on Eastern Churches,* he says: "I trust we shall soon make an effort worthy of our Church, and in accordance with her principles to commence a friendly intercourse with the Greek and other branches of the Catholic Church. There seems to be a great opening and cheering prospects."

And again:—"Read several numbers of the *Missionary Register,* which afford me quite as much pain as pleasure. If

England and America are converting the heathen in Africa, the West Indies, and elsewhere, they are at the same time carrying with them the schisms which are the disgrace of our age, and the cankerworm of our religion."

Of the American Church he says: "The prospects of the Church are most encouraging there. The divisions and subdivisions of sectarians pave the way. The American Prayer-book and Church discipline and practice is a strange jumble of primitive and modern views. I am not condemning their alterations, several of which may be good; but in some a low church latitudinarian tendency may be observed, such as the omission of the Athanasian Creed, the optional expression for '*descended into Hell*' ('went to the place of departed spirits,')—the churches built north and south,—the change of the expression in the Eucharistic Service[1] '*verily and indeed taken,*' into '*spiritually,*'—the Cross omitted in Baptism when requested, as likewise Absolution in Visitation of the sick, etc. etc. While in others, High Church sentiment seems decidedly to have prevailed; witness their restoration of the Weekly Offertory, bolder assertion of the Apostolical Succession, etc. etc."

Dr. Pusey's writings always seem to have met a warm reception, their warmth and spirituality being essentially congenial to Mr. Gray's own mind. He remarks upon the "deep personal piety which made itself felt in all his writings;" and after reading Dr. Pusey's well-known *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the present Crisis in the Church* (1842), comments upon the "beautiful spirit" in which it is written, while owning that it "fills him with very melancholy thoughts respecting the Church's prospects." Mr. Gray's summing up of Mason Goode's *Answer* to Dr. Pusey is brief and telling. "Able and striking; alarming and uncharitable, sneering and sarcastic!"

In November, 1843, Mr. Gray comments thus on Garbett's *Review of Pusey*: "An elaborate, interesting, but not to my mind convincing critique. He does not throughout upwards of a hundred pages, fix upon a single passage and denounce it as heretical, but he finds fault with the language used,—draws his own inferences from it, imputes motives abundantly, and will have it that Dr. Pusey holds transubstantiation and means to teach it, though he positively denies it. There is, however, much matter for thought, and he writes well. Sometimes his views appear to me quite sound and Catholic, and at others he seems to fritter away the truth, substituting faith for the Real Presence."

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[1] Mr. Gray evidently means the Catechism.

As might be expected, Dr. Newman's sermons were fully appreciated, and Mr. Gray also read Manning's *Unity of the Church,* Williams on the Passion, the *Catena Patrum,* the writings of S. Thomas Aquinas, Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus,* Archdeacon Wilberforce on Church Courts and Church Discipline, with keen interest and much admiration. But time for reading must have been growing less and less each month, as his work for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel increased upon his hands, and parish work at the same time grew more thick. On Sundays Mr. Gray undertook four full services, and walked nine miles in order to carry them all out; often, he said, feeling less tired than at the end of an ordinary week day. In July, 1841, however, he resigned the charge of Byer's Green.

In May, 1841, Mr. Gray was called suddenly to London by the death of his mother, but except this, he seems to have worked on unfailingly till the end of 1842, when, after some weeks spent in the south, he returned with new vigour to the main objects of his life, "my ministerial duties, theological study, and sermon-writing."[1] There was much distress in his parish that spring, owing to the coal-pits being laid in, and his time for reading or journal-writing became less and less. The chief events of this year (1843) were the birth of a daughter in June, and Mr. Gray's being called upon to preach the Visitation Sermon at Durham in July:—which is briefly recorded—"Asked to print it—declined." His thirty-fourth birthday came round, and in his wonted self-review at each such season, while lamenting his "want of strictness, of deep religious feeling, of fixedness of purpose, and of continued application to Divine things"—(a want which scarcely seems indicated by his devoted life)—he also expresses a sense of "more deadness to the world, and weariness of it, and more realisation of the importance of eternal things."

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[1] At the end of 1843, Mr. Gray says in his Journal: "I find I have *written* just thirty sermons this year. As I have taken a good deal of pains with them, perhaps this is as much as I need have done, after having been ten years in the parish." In July, 1844, he was "much engaged in writing sermons, chiefly with a view to the Barberite heresy recently introduced into my parish." On one occasion he says that he finds his catechising is much appreciated by the elder part of his congregation, who "learn a great deal without having their pride offended, or appearing to be taught."

1844 also went by without any marked events. Mr. Gray's time and hands were full, and he went more about as Deputation for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:—going, for instance, into Lincolnshire for three weeks in this capacity, in October, 1844;—and in April, 1845, he made a prolonged tour through the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire; Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Dewsbury, Wakefield, etc. His pit population increased greatly, and consequently his parochial and school work; and he had the satisfaction of seeing churches at Byer's Green and Hunswich consecrated. But the sphere of his activity and self-devotion was about to change, and a new scene in his life to begin.

CHAPTER III.

1845 TO DECEMBER, 1847.

OFFER OF LIVING OF STOCKTON-ON-TEES — ACCEPTATION — LETTERS TO HIS SISTER—CONSECRATION OF S. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS—DEPARTURE FROM WHITWORTH—SETTLING AT STOCKTON—WORK AT STOCKTON—SCHOOLS—DISTRICT VISITORS — PAROCHIAL DIFFICULTIES — APPOINTMENT TO AN HONORARY CANONRY AT DURHAM—OFFER OF THE LIVING OF WHICKHAM DECLINED—LETTERS FROM BISHOP OF DURHAM—FIRST SUGGESTIONS OF A COLONIAL BISHOPRIC FROM MR. ERNEST HAWKINS—CONSULTATIONS WITH FRIENDS: WITH THE BISHOP OF DURHAM—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. HAWKINS—ACCEPTANCE, IF CALLED ON BY THE CHURCH — CORRESPONDENCE WITH ARCHBISHOP HOWLEY—BISHOPRIC OF CAPE TOWN FINALLY ACCEPTED—QUESTION OF MEANS—OF MR. GRAY'S SUCCESSOR AT STOCKTON—HAMPERED CONDITION OF COLONIAL BISHOPS—PASTORAL LETTERS ON BEHALF OF THE NEW SEES—MASTER OF UNIVERSITY—DOCTOR'S DEGREE—DEPARTURE FROM STOCKTON—CONSECRATION IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY—CORRESPONDENCE—LAY BAPTISM—DIARY—JOURNEYS ABOUT ENGLAND ON BEHALF OF THE CAPE —LEEDS—WAKEFIELD—INTERVIEW WITH SIR HARRY SMITH—SALISBURY—CHELTENHAM — GLOUCESTER — BIRMINGHAM — MALVERN — LIVERPOOL—CHESTER — WORCESTER — INTERVIEW WITH LORD GREY — LETTER FROM BISHOP BLOMFIELD—MR. FOX MAULE AND MILITARY CHAPLAINS—MR. MERRIMAN — WELLS — CLEWER—ADDINGTON — CAMBRIDGE—ALVERSTOKE—CHICHESTER — BATH — ETON — EXETER — TORQUAY — BISHOP OF EXETER—OXFORD—LAST COMMUNION BEFORE SAILING—PORTSMOUTH—EMBARKATION FOR THE CAPE.

EARLY in August, 1845, Mr. Gray received the following letter from the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Maltby):—

"Auckland Castle, August 2nd, 1845.

"My dear Sir—I do not at all know whether the proposal I am about to make will fall in with your views of duty and comfort, and those of Mrs. Gray. But while I indulge my own feelings in paying you a tribute of respect and confidence, I must beg that you will not for one moment scruple to decline it. It has always appeared to me very unreasonable to make an offer by way of kindness, and yet not leave the persons to whom it is made entire liberty to reject it.

"The vicarage of Stockton being about to become vacant by the removal of Mr. Eden to this place about Michaelmas, I am anxious at least to make you the offer of it, as a testimony to your zeal and professional exertions, not only in your own Parish, but in the adjacent district of Byer's Green, and especially to mark my approbation of the admirable sermon which you preached at the consecration of the church in that place.

"You need not be in any haste to answer this. I must set out for Raby on Tuesday, in my way to a wild part of the country, where a chapel is to be consecrated, and shall return for two or three days before I set out on the larger portion of my Visitation.—Yours, my dear sir, very sincerely,

"E. DUNELM.

"The Rev. Robert Gray, Old Park, Bishop-Auckland."

As before, when Crossgate had been pressed upon him, Mr. Gray's one desire was to find out, as far as possible, what seemed to him God's Will in the matter, and then simply to carry that out, whatever it might be. His heart was poured out in writing (according to his usual habit on special occasions) as follows:—

"O Lord God Almighty, I come to Thee at this time in humble but earnest prayer, feeling deeply my need of Thy Guidance and Assistance. Thou hast permitted me, my God, unworthy though I be, to become Thy Ambassador to sinful man, and to preach the Gospel of my Lord and Saviour, and hast cast my lot in a small but neglected land, where through the assistance of Thy Ever Blessed Spirit some fruit is beginning to appear. And now (I cannot but think that it is at least by Thy permission) a sphere of still more extended usefulness, a heavier and a greater charge has been pressed upon me. My God, I know not whether it is Thy Will that I should go whither I am called, or remain with my present little flock. O do Thou guide me, do Thou direct me! Most earnestly do I implore of Thee that Thou wilt send down Thy Holy Spirit upon me, and lead my steps in the paths Thou wouldst have me tread. Show me where I shall be most useful in turning sinners from their sins, and in leading them to Christ. Of myself I feel I can do nothing; I confess my utter worthlessness, and the unknown depths of my guilt, aggravated because I have too often sinned against light and knowledge. Yet well do I know, my Father, that ofttimes Thou hast chosen the vilest sinners as monuments of Thy Mercy, and the weakest vessels for the greatest purposes, that Thy Hand may be clearly traced and acknowledged in Thy works, and all the glory may be Thine. O then, again and again do I beseech Thee to influence my decision in such a way as shall best promote the salvation of my own soul, and of those committed to my trust. May no merely temporal matter interfere with my duty to Thee, or the obligations of my sacred office; but may I so act as shall best advance the glory of God and the eternal interests of men. Hear and answer, O Lord, these my imperfect petitions, in the Name and for the Sake of Jesus Christ, my Blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen."

The result was that Mr. Gray accepted the Vicarage of Stockton, being induced to do so, he says himself, "partly from a conviction of my unprofitableness with my new pit population; partly from a desire that both Sophy and myself may be saved our long Sunday walk of five miles in all weathers, and our entire absence from the children on that day from morning till night; and partly from the hope of being of use in Stockton, and altering my too secular and expensive mode of living. My present population consists of about 1000, 900 of whom have come almost within the year. They are, for the most part, of the worst character, and are continually changing. May God give me patience, perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, wisdom, and success, in my new and most important charge." That these reasons for wishing to move were not suddenly brought into existence, may be seen from a letter written to Dr. Williamson in the beginning of that year, when he was seeking a Curate.

"Could I have afforded to exchange a living for a curacy I should have been half induced to offer myself to come and work under you, for I am heartily sick of pit people, and I am more and more convinced that the Sunday work is too much for Sophy. . . . Do you know any one who would go out to the Cape as Missionary, or minister to the emigrants ?"

Mr. Gray writes to announce his intended move as follows:—

"Old Park, August 8th, 1845.

"My dearest Annie . . . I write now to give you a piece of information which may perhaps surprise you. I am going to leave this Parish, and have accepted the Vicarage of Stockton, which the Bishop has offered me in a very kind and flattering manner. I have of late been so disheartened at the state of my parish, having a sad reprobate population; and not at the present moment, I believe, one hundred souls who were here this time last year, that I have been quite prepared to leave it. And in addition to this, our Sunday winter walk of five miles, and absence from the children all Sunday, have been an increasing trial to us. I shall of course regret much to leave this old place, to which I am much attached; and also the Shafto family, whose kindness to us has been very great. There are very few (though there are some) in my now changed parish whom I shall care to leave. You know I have only just lost my old congregation, who have gone to their new church. I believe my work here is done, and perhaps others may be more useful. But I think I am worked out. I thank God that amidst very many errors and infirmities I have been of any use in this district. I shall have 6,000 souls under my charge at Stockton, and shall keep a curate. There are several things which are likely to make the parish a comfortable one, though the responsibilities are great. In a pecuniary point of view the gain will not be great; but I do not think I should have done right to refuse, considering all the circumstances. I have been very generally marked out both by clergy and others for Stockton and for Bishop-Auckland." . . .

"August 14th, 1845.—My dearest Annie, You are anxious to hear a little more about Stockton. The town has about 10,000 souls:—6,000 under the Vicar, who keeps a curate, and about 4,000 with a new church which Collinson lately had. The value of the living after paying the curate is about £350. There is a very tolerable house. The people are, I believe, a very excellent body with a hearty church spirit, and a great desire to pull well with their Vicar. There is, of course, a great deal of dissent. The Methodists are a very influential body. The Roman Catholics have just got a new church by Pugin, and an Independent chapel is now building. There is a famous Blue Coat School with large endowments, and I have both master and mistress to appoint. I am thinking of applying to St. Mark's College for the master. . . . I mean to take my present mistress with me; she has been very unwell of late, and I am thinking it would do her health good, and be a great improvement to her to send her for six months to the institution at Whitelands, Chelsea; and I have already written to make inquiries. . . . I wish her, before taking her important charge, to have advantage of education, and also of seeing the best London Schools. . . . There is a Lectureship attached to the parish church which is now occupied, but which I *ought* to have and *could* have to help to pay the curate. The church is hideous,—brick,—round-headed windows, pulpit and desk before altar, large galleries, pews bought and sold! But there are many things to make the sphere a useful and not an unpleasant one, and I see a great work before me. I do not expect to gain anything; there are many things to be done, in all of which I must take the lead. My moving, too, will in various ways be expensive; it cannot cost me less than £150. I am satisfied, however, that I have done right, and these pitmen only prey upon my spirits and weigh me down, without my doing them any apparent good. I have had a very kind and affectionate letter from C., but full of earnest cautions not to upset everything I find *at first*, and begin my work by a battle for the surplice and the rubrics! How little men understand each other! And what an utter nincompoop (if you understand the word) he must think me! I am going to order a black gown immediately, and I shall again submit with the best grace I can to the usual twang of the clerk, and the loss of the offertory and church militant. . . . I expect to begin moving on October 1st, to be in residence by the last day of that month. Am, of course, anxious about my successor here, and am scheming for a good man.—Ever, dearest Annie, your affectionate brother, R. GRAY."

Mr. Gray was accordingly collated to Stockton Vicarage, September 30th, 1845, and read in on November 9th following. A letter to his sister gives an account of his parting from Whitworth, the offering of a testimonial, and the entry upon his new work, as well as a very interesting record of his few days spent at S. Saviour's, Leeds, during part of the Octave kept after the consecration of that Church on SS. Simon and Jude, 1845.

"Old Park, November 3rd, 1845.

"My dearest Annie—I would gladly write oftener to you all, but literally I cannot. From morning to night we are in a bustle. You will say that this is inconsistent with my going to the consecration of S. Saviour's, but it was an old promise, and I could not resist; and I am glad I went. We met, 250 clergy, and I shall not easily forget the glorious services of that day. The procession up the hill was beautiful. The church perfect. But the earnest burst of prayer from that whole congregation was such as I never heard before, and perhaps never shall again on this side the grave. There were 500 communicants out of a congregation of 700. Collection in the morning £1,000. The Bishop preached a sound but not able anti-Roman sermon. Dr. Pusey, in the evening, a most touching discourse upon Mary Magdalene a model of penitence and love.[1] We were ten hours at these services that day. Next day I was donkey enough to go to York for an S. P. G. Meeting, to hear the Bishops of Calcutta and Jamaica, but returned for evening service, thereby missing two of Dr. Pusey's. But I heard him twice on Thursday, and was four times at church, and again on Friday. On that evening I went to Churton's, at Craike.

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[1] "Loving Penitence," No. 1 in the volume of *Sermons on Solemn Subjects*, preached in S. Saviour's, Leeds, 1845.

I spent a pleasant day with them, and on Saturday I returned to Stockton, where I preached yesterday an opening sermon (very moderate), but I hear of some half offended about the Sacraments. I came home to-day to receive a piece of plate, but it is put off till to-morrow. I have never seen anything so striking as the devotion at Leeds. Laity of my own age and station sobbing aloud, and engaged for hours in prayer,—most of the congregation spending the time before the service (a full hour at times) in reading the Psalms, or kneeling in private prayer, and Pusey's sermons most awakening. Poor man! he had hardly been in bed at all during the four nights I was there, and never tasted food before two o'clock. We lived with the Clergy of the church,—four of them with £50 a year between them. I think a strong *Church* (not Roman) feeling pervaded most minds; and I hope that season was blessed to the confirming and strengthening many minds in the faith wherein we stand. I can answer for one devoted young layman whom I persuaded to go with me, and upon whose mind I trust that holy season had a beneficial effect. I am sure you will be glad to read the sermons when they are published.

"I had a painful parting with my people yesterday week. The church was crammed, the people filling up the aisles. But I got through the services better than I expected, after the first few moments. They were all very kind; the poor Shaftos were much affected, then and when we went to luncheon. In the afternoon I had, for the first time, to open out both schools; but the service was different. I could not speak comfortably to them as to my people in the morning. It was a last warning. We go to the Bishop's to-morrow, and from thence probably to Strong's at Sedgefield to meet the Bishop of Jamaica, and then to work at Stockton. Having preached my first trying sermon, in which I thought it right to lay my views of duty and of doctrine before them, I shall henceforth preach plain practical sermons for a time. If I can get a hold of the people, I may then give them strong meat as they are able to bear it. There is much, very much, to be done, and I doubt not I shall be often cast down; but if I could be refreshed occasionally by such holy seasons as that of last week, I feel I should be greatly strengthened and encouraged. I have been surveying the parish to-day, and hearing much of good and evil, though I hope the good preponderates. I am sure, dearest Annie, I shall have your prayers for God's Grace and Blessing to be with me. I much need them. I feel much obliged to you for your kindness to Mary.[1] She is well worthy of anything that can be done for her, and grateful for it. I am going to ask you to let her stay a day or two with you after she has left the Institution, if not inconvenient. I want her, now that she is in London, to see the British Museum, National Gallery, Adelaide Gallery, and anything well worth seeing. Such sights enlarge the views of young country girls, and she will probably never have such another opportunity."

Mr. Gray plunged heartily into the parish work of Stockton, of which, as he says, there was indeed plenty to be done, and to him there needed no additional stimulus to be up and stirring in his Master's service. Unfortunately there is a blank in his Journal at this time (probably from excess of work), and we can only find hints of the various efforts he was making, in letters. Among his first objects was the education of the children of his flock. He writes—

To Dr. Williamson.

"Stockton, November 20, 1845.— . . . I like my prospects here. There is much to do, and the Church is not leavening the lump, but it is respected. Education is at a very low ebb. . . . I am sorry to hear what you say about men's minds being shaken upon the point of our being in schism. This would look as if the movement were proceeding a step farther, for hitherto Romanisers have, I think, pretty generally shirked the historical, abstract case, and flown off on the ground of personal feeling, as Oakley. Indeed, it is one comfort to find how very weak have been the reasons assigned. I have not seen all Oakley's letters, but, though amiable in feeling, what I have seen appears to me purely imaginative. If he leaves us because our Bishops are not S. Ambrose or S. Charles, what will he feel when he comes in contact with the M'Hale school? But really matters are very sad on every ground, and not least that holy men should leave us because they think God has."

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[1] The young schoolmistress of whom he had written before.

"Stockton, December 1st, 1845.— . . . I have just come from a long discussion this evening at an Infant School—a joint affair between Church and dissent. We were three Churchmen, two Quakers, one Methodist, and one half-and-half. I still cling to it, hoping to get it into my hands, but it has at present a Baptist master and mistress. And a proposal was made to start another school in the very district where I am endeavouring to get schools. I have staved off the matter for three months, and hope before then to get my plans matured. But I have no time to lose. I wish, if you can, you would get me some statistics about Infant Schools. I want to know, from as many places as I can,

"1. The age of admission and dismissal.
"2. Salary of teacher.
"3. Whether master or mistress, or both.
"4. How many one teacher can manage.
"5. The expense of keeping up an Infant School from year to year.

"I preached yesterday for our High Schools, and got a large collection for this town, near £22. I wrote my sermon in a great hurry, for I had expected Townsend or Chevallier to preach. . . . We are fully employed here, and the *callers* add to our difficulties. I mean to rise (and have begun) every morning before six o'clock."

To Miss MOWBRAY.

"Stockton, December 18th, 1845.—My dearest Lizzy, Mary has given me this evening £25 from you. Am I right in supposing it is a subscription for my schools? If so, I am much obliged to you, dear, for it. It is the first I have received, and it is an encouragement to me, and, I hope, a good omen of success. I am not apt to despond when I have a work of this kind before me. I look upon it as a thing *to be done,* but I foresee some difficulties in the present case. My actual obstacle is a site. Ten shillings a square yard is an awful price, and that is what I am threatened with. But I do not yet know: we have really some very good church people here, not intelligent, but hearty. I am, of course, cautious in not speaking too strongly, but I suppose I shall be thought somewhat high. We are just starting a clothing-club, which I hope will be of use to the poor and our schools. It is to embrace the whole of the town. We do not yet know what support we shall meet with, but we are putting it upon an extensive plan. If it takes as well as it did at Byer's Green, we shall have near 300 depositors. We have hitherto only talked about it, and people highly approve. It remains to be seen how they are disposed to give. We are just issuing the papers, and Sophy is writing letters to the leading people. She comes out more and more, and is a first-rate deaconess, and will, I hope, be of much use with the ladies. There are several people in the parish who remember the daily prayers, when they used to go full-dressed, and from church to tea and a rubber. Please God, I hope I shall be able to give them an opportunity of worshipping God again every day in His Holy House. I mean to have prayers on all the Saints' Days (it has been customary to have them on some), and daily during Lent. I feel the daily prayers a privilege, and long to re-establish them, but I must move slowly. . . . Ever your affectionate Uncle, R. GRAY."

To MRS. WILLIAMSON.

"Stockton, January 3rd, 1846. . . . —— is very anxious that I should hold a meeting for the Church Missionary Society, which I decline, and would have me support the Bible Society, which I also decline. I hope your S. P. G. meeting has passed off well. I shall of course make an effort for it here, as soon as I have leisure, and have got a little influence. . . . Can you furnish me with any information about the formation of District Visiting Associations? There is, I know, one large Association recently established in London, besides smaller parochial associations. I want particularly to know the nature and extent of duties of the visitors—what they do, and what they are instructed *not* to do. I hope to be able to make use of ladies in that way here. I have already one besides Sophy, who is a most accomplished visitor, and goes very courageously alone all over the town. Our schools re-open to-morrow. I am much obliged to you for your information about Infant Schools. I expect I shall want a mistress in three or four months."

Mr. Gray exerted himself vigorously to get new schools built, a letter from the Bishop of Durham proving that he backed his efforts.

"4, Upper Portland Place, May 15th, 1846.

"My dear Sir—I attended the National Society yesterday, having desired Mr. Kennedy to give me notice when the question of the Stockton grant was to come on. I am happy to inform you that a vote passed of £200, and there was a strong opinion in the Committee that the Privy Council would not give less than £300. . . . Yours very truly,

"E. Dunelm."

The Bishop was also promoting Mr. Gray's intentions of improving the Vicarage "by lands which I am desirous of making over to it."

A letter to Mrs. Williamson (undated, but apparently written about this time) alludes to all this: "We have our house, our school-buildings, and our singing, at this time, all in a critical condition. Any one of these may upset all our plans. Will you let me know when is the soonest you can receive us, and when Henry will be at home. I feel I ought not to go away at all, there is so much to do, and my Curate only a Deacon of some four months' standing. Souls, too, perishing all around for lack of care. We have no system at work here to reclaim the lost or arouse the indifferent. I *must* have another Curate. And I talk of going away to amuse myself for the best part of a month! . . . . The Bishop was kind enough to write to me about my grant—it is more than

I expected. Our second case is now before them; that will be for 200 children—the first was for 300 children. I am going to invite, by circular, the congregation to come and practise chants and psalms in the large schoolroom. I am quite uncertain how it will take. We are now practising a class of twenty adults and forty children there and in the church. It seems ludicrous in me to have anything to do with such a thing, and this is not a musical place, but our singing is wretched, and it is well worth an effort."

"Stockton, June 22nd, 1846.—My dearest Annie . . . I am again in hot water from the slanders of Socinians, Quakers, Baptists, and Independents, with reference to Schools and Education. We almost despair of getting our house altered this summer, there are so many difficulties in the way. I shall be very glad indeed to have a sight of you all again. I am not without hopes that my parishioners will keep me a second Curate. Unfortunately the chief of them are absent from home, and will be so all summer. I am thinking, on my return, of opening a room for Divine Service in the midst of the worst part of my population. The more the Church takes her true position here, the more rancorous will be the opposition she will meet with.

"I applied to Mr. Coleridge for a S. Mark's man for the Blue Coat School, but he has not one to spare, which is a disappointment to me. I had hoped to have grafted on to it a middle school, which is rather a hobby of mine. We lose all the middle class for want of a good Church education, and these S. Mark's men appear to me the very persons for the middle classes. I mean, however, to keep this in mind. There is much to be done in the way of Sunday Schools, Church Union, and Library, in imitation of Leeds. For all of these Eden has in some measure paved the way, and I hope in course of time all will be carried into effect. Ultimately there must be another church."

During that autumn Mr. Gray received another mark of the respect and value entertained for him by his Bishop, expressed as follows :—

"Auckland Castle, Sept. 24th, 1846.

"My dear Sir—The exemplary manner in which you have performed your professional duties since I have had opportunity of observing it, points you out as one of those Clergymen who should be appointed to an Honorary Canonry in our Cathedral. If it be agreeable to you to accept a situation purely honorary, I have much gratification in thus marking my personal regard and approbation of your public services. . . . .

"Believe me, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"E. Dunelm."

Mr. Gray replied to this :—

"Vicarage, Stockton, Sept. 24th, 1846.

"My Lord—I have to thank your Lordship very sincerely for this new and unexpected proof of your kindness and consideration towards me. It would, under any circumstances, be a satisfaction to me to be connected with the Cathedral Church of my Diocese, but that of Durham has peculiar attractions for me, associated as it is with all my early recollections, and connected with it as my Father was for so many years. I accept therefore, with much gratitude, your Lordship's offer of an honorary Canonry, and I trust that this mark of my Diocesan's regard and approbation may serve to make me more diligent and earnest in the discharge of the important duties of my calling." . . . .

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Stockton, Sept. 29, 1846. . . . I have been desirous for some days to write, but could not. Arrangements for S. P. G. meetings and sermons throughout the Diocese, entailing a never-ending correspondence, have been the chief cause. . . . . You will be glad to hear that the kind old Bishop has offered me, in a very handsome manner, an Honorary Canonry in Durham Cathedral. . . . It is a pleasure to me to be connected with the Cathedral Church under any circumstances, but much more so with our dear old Durham.

"We had our first meeting here for S. P. G. last night—a most crowded and successful one, and I was well supported by the leading laity. It has cost me a sleepless night, to which you are indebted for this letter, which otherwise, perhaps, I had not had time to write."

Mr. Gray was collated on October 3, 1846, to the Honorary Canonry in "the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Grinkle, Oct. 15, 1846. . . . We came here, literally driven out of our house by dust and dirt from our repairs, and remain till Saturday. Kitty and her husband too had come down, so that the sisters are all together. . . . . You ask me about the Hon. Canonry; I believe it will be my duty when at the Cathedral to sit in a stall appropriated to me, but I know nothing more. . . . . My stall has no emolument attached to it—it cost me £3 : 15s. to be collated. I felt it was very kind in the Bishop. . . . . Has R. any pain in his knee? How easily are we disabled from work! It should make me very thankful that I have so little illness. We have the typhus very bad in Stockton just now. I am thinking of building a Church Institution. Can Richard give me any hints about one? I shall want £500, and hope to get on with it next year."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Stockton.—I am, as usual, in a bustle and hot water. . . . I am uncertain now whether I shall not lose my Curate, which will be a sad blow to me. . . . It is not impossible that I may get Arthur Gray for a second Curate. . . . Affection for dear Robert's memory would make me do much for his children. With a very little exertion I hope we shall be able to send up from £60 to £70, and perhaps more, for S. P. G. This is a good breaking of the ground; I do not think that more than £5 was sent last year. Dissenters are very bitter. They say it will not be long before I go to Rome. I have given *no* ground whatever for any such imputation, having been Anti-

Roman even almost beyond what is charitable. But it shows they feel the Church is moving, and that consoles me. But one of my District Visitors told me to-day people said I meant to do away with pews in the Church, and turn all into free and open stalls. I have been endeavouring, alas! with little success, to break down the system of buying and letting pews. I am very anxious next year to build the Church Institution, but it will cost £500, and I don't see my way to more than half the money, so that I tremble to take it in hand.

". . . I have really not been able to write, what with one thing or another. . . . Our mistress has been confined to her room two months with erysipelas, and we have had to teach. The Clothing Club has been very exhausting, and Sophy has been overwhelmed with all sorts of accounts. . . . I hope matters are proceeding comfortably in your parish, and that the Cross has not been defaced by the zeal of your parishioners? . . . I have been working hard this last week to get hold of an endowment of upwards of £300 from the Kirkleatham school for a Grammar school in this place. I have sent up petitions from the clergy, town and country, Mayor and Corporation, magistrates, men of business, and tradesmen. I am sanguine enough to hope we shall get it. To-day we have had a meeting about the support of my new schools. They will cost a gross sum of £180 a year to keep up. The Trustees of the Blue Coat School promised me their savings, and the rest I am pledged to raise as best I can. I am rather anxious about them, but hope to succeed. It is, however, a great experiment and a risk. Chevallier is going to preach here to-morrow week for the Irish, and a collection will afterwards be made through the town. Subscriptions here are ruinous. . . . I have some idea of sending a cart round the town for all the old clothes! . . . Arthur Gray will, I hope, be ordained to my curacy before Lent. . . . If I had more time at my disposal, I should write to you more frequently. I am just beginning an adult school on Sundays, which I hope may be useful. It is almost the only spare hour I have, but I wish to get hold of the young people if I can."

In the midst of all Mr. Gray's troubles and toils at Stockton, the genuineness of his self-devotion was put to the test by an offer unexpectedly made to him by the Bishop of Durham of the living of Whickham. The language in which the offer was made would have justified many men to their own consciences in leaving the post of difficulty and discomfort for one much more agreeable.

"To the Rev. Robert Gray. Private and Confidential.

"4, Upper Portland Place, May 22, 1846.

"My dear Sir—Although I am sensible of the inconvenience arising from a short incumbency, yet necessity sometimes requires it, and a change from one sphere of usefulness to another not less useful, fully justifies it. I therefore feel myself at liberty to offer you the Living of Whickham, because, in point of income and situation, it will be more desirable for yourself and family, and you will have as abundant exercise for your zeal and energy in the education of the young and spiritual instruction and comfort of both young and old, as at Stockton. I believe that a portion of the labour and responsibility of Whickham parish has been removed by the new district, and as soon as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners obtain funds, I believe also it will be very advisable to detach Swalwell from it. I presume that you were acquainted with the place in the time of Mr. Douglas; and being just now, as indeed always in London, much engaged, will add on this part of the subject no more than that if, from any cause, you wish to remain at Stockton, you will not consider yourself precluded from following your own inclination. If you remove, you will naturally feel an anxiety about a proper successor; and upon this I wish to advise with you CONFIDENTIALLY. . . . I mark this communication as *private*, but of course you will take counsel with Mrs. R. Gray, though with no one else.—Yours very truly,

E. DUNELM."

Mr. Gray's answer needs no comment:—

"My Lord—I need not, I trust, assure you that I am deeply sensible of your great kindness in making me the offer conveyed in your letter of to-day. If I felt myself at liberty to decide upon my course, simply upon personal considerations, I should not hesitate for a moment about accepting it; for both the situation, with its house and the income, offer inducements, to the force of which I am fully alive, loving as my wife does the country, and narrowed as my income has of late years been from various causes. I cannot, however, fail to observe, from what I have seen since I have been here, that another speedy removal of their Vicar would be injurious to the cause of the Church and religion generally in this place. They felt very much the loss of Mr. Eden, and I am sure (without meaning to say that it would be any mark of personal regard towards myself) that the people generally would feel sore at another change within so short a time. Indeed, since I have been here, there have been various wide-spread rumours of my leaving, and they created unpleasant feelings in the place. Under these circumstances, therefore, I think it right, with every feeling of gratitude to your Lordship for your great kindness towards me, to remain where I am, and where I hope I am in some degree useful, and have been received very kindly. I think I should do wrong to move at present simply from interested motives, and I could plead none other for a change. The parishioners also will, I am sure, expect that, having embarked in a large scheme for the improvement and extension of the means of education, as well as other schemes by which I have involved them in much prospective expense, and to which they have yielded from placing confidence in me, I ought to remain and work out my plans to a safe conclusion.

"The only serious drawbacks to my comfort and usefulness here are, first, the sad system of letting and selling pews, which is both illegal and most unjust to the poor, and operates very seriously against the Church, indeed, more so than I could have imagined; and, secondly, the utter impossibility of myself and Curate adequately discharging the duties of this parish. If I could induce the Churchmen of Stockton to support another Clergyman for the poor destitute, whom we are compelled to neglect, I should be quite compensated for the sacrifice which I now make. I have not mentioned your Lordship's offer to any one except my wife. Though delighting in the country, she quite agrees with me in thinking that I ought to remain where I am. I do not know Whickham, and have not been to see it, but I know the country round about it, and much prefer it to this. . . .—I remain, my dear Lord, very faithfully and gratefully yours, ROBT. GRAY."

To this the Bishop of Durham replied:—

"4, Upper Portland Place, May 26th, 1846.

"My dear Sir—Although I very much regret that you cannot benefit by the offer of Whickham, yet it is impossible for me not to appreciate highly the motives which have induced you to decline it. They are truly honourable to you, and I may be allowed to add to Mrs. Gray also. As you have acted with a view to the weal of the Church, and to secure the attachment of your parishioners to it, they ought to be made acquainted with the sacrifice you have made; and if they have any right feeling, they should show their sense of it by assisting you in your very natural wish to abate the mischief arising from the letting or sale of pews, and also to obtain additional assistance in the discharge of your duties. I therefore release you from all obligation to secresy, and need not add that whatever aid I can give, in the discreet use of authority, for checking illegal traffic in pews, I shall always be ready to supply. In endeavouring to secure the services of an additional Curate, I am ready to become a subscriber of £20 annually to any fund you may raise. It has occurred to me sometimes that in the great dearth of labourers in the Church, and the absence of sufficient endowments to requite them, it might not be inexpedient to unite the offices of Curate and schoolmaster. Whether any arrangement of this kind be practicable at Stockton, you are the best judge. . . . Yours very sincerely, E. DUNELM."

His predecessor, Mr. Eden, writes in the same strain:—

"Bishop Auckland, June 4th, 1846.

"My dear Gray—I was fully aware of what the Bishop had done . . . and he was very much pleased at your answer, and commended the motives which led you to refuse it. The offer to you, and your refusal will no doubt strengthen your hands not a little amongst your people. I should have been very sorry for Stockton if you had left it at present; but I was sure that you would make any sacrifice, rather than that any injury should have been done to the Church by your removal, which I believe would have been the case if you had acted otherwise than you have done. I have no doubt that you will feel continual satisfaction in having made this sacrifice,—for it has been a sacrifice to yourself as well as to Mrs. Gray; and I can easily understand how much you will be encouraged to go on boldly in your work. I am sorry for all your troubles. . . . We all have our troubles, and I suspect that we should not get on half so well without a rub occasionally. As to . . . . I should rejoice rather than be annoyed at what has been done. It will, you may depend upon it, be the means of strengthening your hands and increasing the friends of the Church; or, at all events, of separating the true Church people from the mixed multitude. It has been too long the custom in Stockton for Churchmen and dissenters to act together in many things, and you will get on much better when alone.". . .

Thus, for a time it appeared to be settled that Mr. Gray was to remain at Stockton; and though, from a worldly point of view, some of his relations could scarce help regretting the sacrifice his refusal to accept Whickham involved, there was a general feeling that such sacrifice was consistent with his character, and what those who knew and loved him would expect. It was but for a short time, however, that matters remained thus quiescent. Another invitation to quit Stockton shortly arose, and this time of a very different character;—the doubt as to self-seeking or consulting the temporal welfare of himself or his family certainly did not and could not enter into the question of whether or no he was to accept that Colonial Bishopric in which he did a work for the Church of Christ which will never be forgotten so long as the Church lasts. This important matter, which was to influence Mr. Gray's whole life, was opened by his receiving the following letter:—

"Confidential. 79, Pall Mall, January 30th, 1847.

"My dear Mr. Gray—From the situation which I hold as Hon. Secretary to the Colonial Bishoprics Committee, I have been more than once asked to propose for the Archbishop's consideration names of such clergymen as I may consider well qualified for the new Colonial Sees. Those of Melbourne, and one to the north of Sydney, I consider virtually disposed of; but very soon I expect that, through Miss Burdett Coutts' munificent gift, endowments will be provided for Adelaide (South Australia) and the Cape of Good Hope. Now, in confidence, I wish to ask whether you will allow me to put your name upon the list for one of these Bishoprics? and, by consequence, if the Archbishop should be disposed to recommend you, whether you would be prepared to accept the offer? It is of importance that the offer should not be made and rejected; therefore I write before taking any step. In any case you will be good enough not to mention this matter unless to one or two persons whom it may be necessary to consult.—Yours very truly, ERNEST HAWKINS."

By return of post Mr. Gray replied that the question Mr. Hawkins put to him was one involving so many and such weighty considerations, that he would wait a few days and take counsel before attempting to give any answer. By the same post he wrote the following letter to his brother-in-law, Dr. Williamson, which will show how deeply he was pondering the matter as in God's Sight:—

"Stockton, February 1st, 1847.

"My dear Richard—I enclose you a letter received yesterday, which is causing me much anxiety and trouble of mind. I send it to you for your consideration and opinion, and shall feel thankful if you will give them to me candidly and decidedly.

So many and such weighty considerations are involved in a decision on the subject, that I tremble to make the attempt. Of course it presents itself to my mind under a variety of aspects. What I want you to give me your opinion upon is—*First*, As to my fitness for such an office. My own conviction is that in many, very many, important qualifications I am utterly deficient. Indeed I know of none that I possess, except a brute kind of energy, and a certain amount of success in influencing others so as to lead them to co-operate with me. In learning, judgment, talent, temper, piety, I feel I am far below what such an office requires. In each of the Colonies named the Church is *nothing*. Everything has to be done. In both of them every form of religious error is rampant. In Adelaide there were eighteen dissenting meeting-houses, and a Roman Bishop, when there was but one (English) Clergyman. Things are, however, now a little better. I do not believe at the present moment there are six Clergymen in either Diocese. Then the relations of the Church towards the civil power are, I believe, quite undefined; the laws of the Church unsettled. The foundations of everything have yet to be laid. I own it has always appeared to me that the *first* Bishop of a Colonial See should have qualifications which I have no pretensions to.

"Then, next, supposing your opinion to be that I am fit for such an office, do you think me, before God, at liberty to decline it? My own belief is that a man is bound to go where he will be most likely to promote the Glory of God, the good of His Church, and the salvation of souls. If I know myself, I think I am prepared in this matter to go, or not to go, just as God would have me do. If I could see my way *clearly* in point of *duty*, I would act accordingly. I wish to come to a decision without reference to personal considerations. Will you then, *secondly*, if you think me qualified, tell me what you think I *ought* to do under the circumstances?

"Then, *thirdly*, let me know whether you agree or differ with me as to not being influenced by temporal considerations. Were I convinced that there was no call of duty, that I had a perfect freedom of choice, that I was not shrinking from a

Divine call, I think I should decline. Home attachments, wife, children, comfort in present sphere of duty, would all combine to keep me here. Humanly speaking, my heart would sink within me at the thoughts of what I should have to encounter, as it were alone, in either of those spiritually desolate regions; at the vast responsibility of the office itself. The carrying away, too, from all she holds dear, of my most self-denying, devoted, high-minded wife to the very antipodes of the earth; the education and worldly prospects of my children; all these even now crowd upon my mind overpoweringly, and would, I think, deter me, were there no counter-feelings that I might be refusing to hearken when God was calling.

"But I might write on for ever, and must stop, for I have but little time, and I am incessantly interrupted. Give me your prayers and your advice. I am at a loss how to act. But I *think* of saying that if the Archbishop has before him a list of men well qualified for the office, or if Hawkins knows of men who would be fit and willing to go, if there is no difficulty in filling up the office satisfactorily, I had rather not have it offered to me. But that if otherwise—if those whom they deem competent are unwilling to go, and others cannot easily be found, I place myself at the disposal of the Church.

"Say whether you think I am right? and if I am to go, whether you would prefer the Cape or Adelaide, and whether you would name having a preference for one place more than another. I need not say Sophy wishes to be guided, as I do, by *duty*. And now, my dear Richard, as soon as you have read this, pray send it, with Hawkins' letter, to Charles and Edward, for I have not time to write fully to all. Beg them to write to me, and send the letters on to Henry with the same request. You will see that the subject should not be mentioned to any one else."

Dr. Williamson did as he was requested, and of course letters from Mr. Gray's family poured in, expressing various lines of thought upon the subject offered to their consideration, but substantially agreeing in offering grave objections to his acceptance of a Colonial Bishopric—objections which not unnaturally rose up with great force before relations unwilling to part with one already so usefully occupied, and which some continued to urge until the matter had become irrevocable. The member of his family who gave Mr. Gray most encouragement and advice which really forwarded his decision was Dr. Williamson, whose answer to his letter was as follows:—

"Sutton Coldfield, Feb. 10th, 1847.

"My dear Robert—I have let your letter go too long unanswered. I see no reason of any great weight to alter my first impression of the subject which you proposed, which was this, taking your queries in order—I. As to fitness, I think you are fit for such a place as the Cape, and in some respects well suited.

"II. The relations between Church and State may be unsettled, but the Church must do her duty meanwhile, and hope for better things.

"III. I should think a man hardly at liberty to decline, if he felt sure that the Church had selected him, as thinking him the best qualified of her sons; but in your case it is Hawkins who nominates a number and the Archbishop selects, and this I think weakens the idea of its being a call from the Church; had it come from your Bishop it would have been stronger, yet it has some force, as the Archbishop authorises Hawkins to look round for men, and must have some good reasons to set against it, such as usefulness in present sphere. On the whole, I have a difficulty in giving a decided answer in your case, on account of my being unable to settle the exact weight to be given to the 'call.'

"IV. Temporal considerations, family, etc., I think should weigh but little; I cannot justify a priest's marrying, except by determining to put the wife aside where duty calls.

"V. Your answer, as you propose, is probably that of every one to whom Hawkins writes; but perhaps it is the right one, if you do not decline it.

"VI. I would strongly advise the Cape, because you have a choice, and it is nearer home, and the place is more civilised. . . . Lastly, I should think you at liberty to be guided by your Bishop, if you can trust him not to be too easy in his way of viewing such matters.

"In giving this opinion, I consider you to make a sacrifice in almost every particular which regards your temporal happiness if you accept the offer: but I see what the Roman Catholics are doing, and I fancy we should do the same. You have our prayers, you may be sure. . . .—Yours affectionately,
RD. WILLIAMSON."

Mr. Hawkins meanwhile wrote again, on February 4th, to repeat that what he had done so far was purely tentative, and that he only wished to know whether, in event of the Archbishop's making an offer, Mr. Gray would be prepared to accept it, adding that he fully approved of the Bishop of Durham being consulted, and hoped to hear that he both gave his consent and was willing to promote the matter; Mr. Hawkins also assumed that Mr. Gray had no reason to mistrust his own health or bodily strength.

A short note to his sister, without date, but evidently written within a day or two of this time, says that he was on the point of going to Bishop-Auckland to consult his Diocesan, adding that he *must* relieve his own mind speedily by coming to a decision. "I feel very calm and quiet about this matter," he says in another short note (also undated, but obviously written within the first days of the question being opened). "It is, of course, much in my mind. But incessant occupation here seems to deaden my feelings about it. I seem to myself at the present moment almost indifferent as to what becomes of me; but that is probably the mere effect of indecision. The responsibility, however, of such a post at times alarms me; I picture to myself cases of difficulty, and shudder at my own incapacity. I shall hear what the Bishop says. His office and his kindness demand that I should consult him."

After seeing the Bishop of Durham, and receiving the answer of his brothers, Mr. Gray replied to the Secretary as follows:—

"My dear Hawkins—I have had some difficulty in making up my mind as to the answer which I ought to send to your letter of the 30th Jan. If I know myself, I believe I have wished to be guided simply by convictions of duty. Could I have seen my way clearly in the matter, and felt satisfied that there was a call from Divine Providence, I should have been ready to decide at once to go anywhere, and in any situation. But upon this point I have had very conflicting feelings and very considerable doubts. There is no need, however, that I should trouble you with an account of what has been passing in my mind. I shall therefore content myself with saying that after consulting the Bishop, my brothers, and one or two friends, I wish to leave the matter thus:—That if from your position you know or have reason to think that the Archbishop has before him, or you are prepared to lay before him, the names of other men whom you deem equally qualified for the office, I had rather not be named. But if there is really a dearth of men who are both competent and willing to undertake it, I would place myself at the disposal of the Church; for I think in that case I ought not to shrink from what might then appear a plain duty. Pray understand, however, that as far as inclination and temporal interests may fairly be considered, I greatly prefer remaining in my present post, where I trust I am in some degree useful. I have no *wish* whatever to go, but I am willing to obey any call of God. I cannot judge for myself whether I really am wanted; but if those who are over me in the Lord think so, I am ready cheerfully to go to any post that may be selected for me, though as a matter of feeling I had much rather remain in England.

"The Bishop was most kind. He was pleased to say that he deemed me well fitted for the office, and would bear any testimony to me that I might desire, but he did not consider that there was any plain call of duty in the present case. I put both of your notes into his hands. You ask about health; my only doubt on that score would relate to the effect of extreme heat on my constitution. On this ground as well as others, were I to go, I should, I think, *prefer* the Cape."

Mr. Hawkins replied, on February 13th, that "a more fit or satisfactory answer could not be made;" promising also that nothing should be done rashly or without a full and fair consideration of all the circumstances of the case. Meanwhile Mr. Gray sent a copy of his letter to Dr. Williamson and his brothers, saying, "It does not satisfy my own mind, and yet it faithfully reflects our joint feeling. Sophy induced me to word my willingness to go in stronger language than I had at first intended. God's Will be done. It is a load off my mind. I am glad to throw the responsibility in any measure off my own shoulders. I would cheerfully obey any *command* from authority; but without such command I can with truth say, '*Nolo episcopari.*' The Bishop of Durham was very kind, but he did not take a *very* high line as to duty, though still not a grovelling one. He said he should be sorry to lose me from his Diocese, but would write, if I liked it, in the strongest manner to the Archbishop, which I of course declined. If an offer now comes I must go, unless any new circumstances should occur to alter my views or position. I heartily thank you for your prayers, and advice, and sympathy. Whatever the result may be, I shall feel that it is of God, as I have had but one object in view. My prayer is that if it conduce to His honour and glory, the good of His Church, and the salvation of souls, I may go; if not, I may stay. If I go, I shall believe that His Presence will go with me. Pray send this round, as I may not be able to write. Lent is coming on, with its daily prayers morning and evening, and its week-day sermons.—Your affectionate brother, R. GRAY."

The Bishop of Durham wrote—

"Auckland Castle, Feb. 23rd, 1847.

"My dear Sir—Whatever concerns you, privately or professionally, cannot be uninteresting to me, therefore I hope you will not think of apologising for any communication of the kind.

"I stated to you that the question which you submitted to me was so much connected with private feeling and family concerns, that I could not take upon me to pronounce a positive opinion. But I am more and more satisfied of what struck me at the time, that you are better suited for home work than foreign; and that, while you are so usefully employed in the most important duties here, I could not consider it a matter of actual duty to go, contrary to the bent of inclination, elsewhere. I sincerely pray that whatever you finally decide upon may turn out to your own increased usefulness and comfort, as well as the benefit of that Church which you are now serving so effectually.—Believe me, yours very sincerely, E. DUNELM."

In a letter to one of his family, written at this time, Mr. Gray says—

"So peculiar is one's constitution, that I believe we shall feel much distress whatever becomes of us. If we are sent, we shall for a time at least be much cast down. If we are left, I shall feel that I have shrunk from a post of self-denial, from human feelings. I have had strong misgivings as to whether I have been justified in mentioning my own wishes at all. My conscience has already made me somewhat uneasy on this head; and if the Archbishop leaves me at home on this ground, I shall feel very much as if I had been weighed in the balance and found wanting."

A few days later, Mr. Gray received another letter from Mr. Hawkins:—

"79, Pall Mall, Feb. 16th, 1847.

My dear Gray—When first I wrote to you about a Colonial Bishopric, I had good reason for supposing that the Diocese to be formed out of the Northern Counties of New South Wales (part of the present Diocese of Australia) had been filled up. But the arrangement then in progress was never completed. That See therefore, as well as South Australia (*i.e.* Adelaide) and the Cape of Good Hope, remains to be filled. The capital of it will be Newcastle, on the coast, about eighty miles from Sydney, and in this respect, as being near Bishop Broughton, who will be constituted Metropolitan, and who, from his long knowledge of the country, must be invaluable as a counsellor and friend, Newcastle will be the least embarrassing of the three Sees. The others may be more eligible in other respects. The income of Newcastle would be at first £833 a year—whether a house would be provided I cannot say;—and that both of Adelaide and the Cape would, I fear (for each), be under £900, so that there can be no money advantage.

"Your brother has called several times here on the subject, and I have promised to proceed quite fairly and openly in the business; but he and your other brothers must, of course, be your counsellors in the *private* part of the arrangement, and no one, of course, would wish to entrap or unduly press you to decide upon going should the offer be made. Such decision must be based upon deliberate convictions of duty, and on such grounds you are prepared to make it.

"With regard to the want of men duly qualified, I will only say that there are so many *excluding* causes and so much theological jealousy and suspicion abroad at this time, that it really is difficult to select men against whom no objection lies; and I say with sincerity that I know of none likely to be accepted, more eligible than yourself. I have now mentioned and talked over your name with the Archbishop, with the Bishop of London, and with Archdeacon Harrison. The Archbishop would be unwilling to urge you to any unreasonable sacrifice, but would, I feel satisfied, readily and heartily recommend you, if you are quite prepared to accept the offer. I think I may gather from your letter that you are so prepared. In regard to health, I cannot doubt that both climate and occupation would be more favourable to health than your present residence and duties; but I would beg you to say again whether you would offer yourself *only* for the Cape, and I believe it would be satisfactory to your brother if you consulted the physician who best knows you on this subject.—I am, my dear Gray, ever yours truly, ERNEST HAWKINS."

To this Mr. Gray immediately replied:—

"My dear Hawkins—Your letter has again caused me some anxiety, inasmuch as it calls upon me to decide, when I had intended the decision should have been left to others. As to 'offering' myself, I cannot do it. I should object to do so on principle. I do not think men ought to offer themselves for the office of a Bishop. I never could become a candidate for *any* spiritual office. My only motive for consenting to go when invited would be lest in refusing I should be shrinking from a work to which God was calling me. If the Archbishop, as the Chief Pastor of our Church, fixes upon me to fill a certain post, I shall not decline it, but shall, I hope cheerfully, at least dutifully, obey his summons. My own earnest desire, however, would be not to be summoned. I had hoped to live and die ministering in my own native land. I believe the Church has many worthier sons, and better qualified than myself to fill these posts—at least our condition is a sad one if she has not. And I am conscious—painfully so—of my own deficiencies for such an office.

"The Archbishop must *decide* whether, under all the circumstances of the case, he chooses to fix upon me for a Colonial Bishopric. If he does, I shall consider it as a Providential call, and accept it. If he does not, I shall thankfully, most thankfully, remain where it has pleased God to place me.

"It is not for one, who wishes to be guided in this matter solely by the Will of God, to pick and choose for himself *where* he would go; but as you name three Dioceses, and state circumstances connected with them, I would simply observe that, if I were to go, I should not from choice fix upon Newcastle, in spite of the advantages which you mention in the near neighbourhood of Bishop Broughton, which I by no means undervalue. A more full acquaintance with the circumstances of the different Dioceses might alter my views, but at present I still think that if told to select from the list I should fix upon the Cape.

"I attach, however, no conditions to my consent. I only hope that unless the Archbishop is at a loss to find men in whom the Church can more properly place confidence than myself, he will not think of me. But the *decision* must rest altogether with his Grace. I hold it as a principle that the ministers of Christ are bound to place themselves at the disposal of the Church, to be sent where the Church most requires their services. I am quite content to abide by this principle in the present case. If therefore the Archbishop deems me, under all circumstances, the fittest person for any one of the posts you name, you will be good enough to consider that I am ready to go wherever the Church shall send me, unconditionally, without qualification or reserve.

"Believe me, dear Hawkins, very truly yours,

"ROBERT GRAY."

The sacrifice Mr. Gray was making from this spirit of devotion and obedience to the Church was at all events appreciated by some of those nearest and dearest to him. Dr. Williamson writes—

"Sutton Coldfield, Feb. 24th, 1847.

"My dear Robert . . . . I suppose from the tone of Hawkins' note that we must consider it fixed that ere long you will have a more direct offer, or rather that your name will remain on the list, to be employed when a man is wanted. One cannot help hoping that they may think proper to propose the Cape, for the reasons I gave before; but it is clear that if a man thinks right to put himself into the Church's hands, he cannot make other than very qualified reservations. God knows whether, if such a personal sacrifice were demanded of me as that which is now before you, I should have strength enough to make it; but I have no doubt of the principle, and I am sure that God's Blessing will attend you, and all of yours who think with you, and share the sacrifice with you.

"These are days when Churchmen have the opportunity of doing much good to the cause of the Church by showing to the world, at least to those who know them, that they can take up the Cross not only in writing theory, not only in petty acts of self-denial, but in great and weighty matters, which affect the comfort of a whole life. It will make us all at home think more of, and value more, the Communion of Saints, if you and yours shall be separated from us by half the globe, and perhaps half a life. But all these things help us to realise the great truth, that we are to live in the world, yet not as of the world, —pilgrims seeking a country, and hoping, praying, to meet all of us one day, without fear of separation for ever.

"How wonderfully your good wife rises up to the need which is before her. . . . If her health permits, she will prove, under God, an invaluable comfort and assistance to you if you are actually sent away from this country. Poor Annie feels the prospect deeply, but she knows you are acting rightly, and that is her comfort."

In a touching letter from his sister, evidently replying to an expression of fearfulness on Mr. Gray's part, lest his disinclination to leave England had been too strongly expressed to be consistent with his desire absolutely to submit his own will to that of God and the Church, she says—

"We are both agreed that we really do not think you need reproach yourself on the course you have taken, or feel that you have done wrong in showing that you *have* home clingings, for you certainly have very strongly expressed your inclination not to be biassed by them improperly, and your free willingness and desire to obey the Church and Archbishop's call. Indeed, dearest Robert, we have so loved and admired your and dear Sophy's conduct through the whole, that I think it has tended wonderfully to soften to us, and enable us to bear, the first great blow—for blow it certainly was. . . . . I have often thought that what has helped to keep us so calm on the subject is that we feel in the conduct you have adopted you are *going forward*; and that if you had refused unreservedly you would have been *going backwards.* Now, I trust, we may apply to you the verse in the Proverbs, 'The path of the just is as a shining light, and shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'"

This state of suspense lasted yet awhile. On February 23 Mr. Hawkins wrote a few hurried lines to say that he had that day been at Lambeth and read Mr. Gray's letter to the Archbishop (Dr. Howley), who undoubtedly considered him a very desirable man to appoint, but would not press his acceptance of the office without full consideration. Shortly after the Archbishop's own communication was made:—

"Lambeth, March 6, 1847.

"Dear Sir—Understanding that owing to circumstances you were rather desirous of remaining in this country than of taking a higher situation abroad, I have felt unwilling to press a Colonial Bishopric on your acceptance. But being very desirous of finding a priest whose piety, soundness and principle, ability and judgment, would do justice to the Church in this very important station, and having been just now disappointed where I had hoped to obtain this point without distressing you, I am constrained to offer to recommend you for the Cape of Good Hope, where the objection of distance is by no means so great as in Australia. I enter into no particulars, as I am informed you have already had the subject before you, and the post is on the point of going out. It would give me great satisfaction to receive an answer corresponding with the wishes of those who have had full opportunity of estimating your powers of promoting the interests of our holy religion in that quarter of the globe, and in whose judgment I have reason to confide.—I remain, my dear sir, your faithful servant,

"W. Cantuar."

This letter was accidentally delayed a couple of days, so that it reached Mr. Gray by the same post with one from Mr. Hawkins:—

"79, Pall Mall, March 8th, 1847.

"My dear Gray—I have not seen the Archbishop since last Tuesday week, when I wrote to inform you what took place. Considering, however, the tenor of your letter, and your brother's appeal to me, I thought it only fair to name another clergyman, very eligible in every respect for the Cape. That clergyman, a man of private means and of very high character, received the proposal much in the same way that you did, and seemed not unwilling to place his services at the disposal of the Church; at the same time saying that, owing to very peculiar circumstances, he should not think it right to go without his father's consent. That consent was not given, and the person alluded to was compelled to decline therefore. . . . I assure you that I have considered this appointment with much anxiety, and have gone over almost every name of clergymen I know, directly or indirectly, and cannot offer to his Grace another of one in my mind equally eligible with yourself. What are called extreme opinions on this side or that exclude so many;—age, objecting of families, many others. I said, therefore, to Archdeacon Harrison that I thought the case had arisen specified by yourself of there being a want of really well-qualified men, and I am informed by him that the Archbishop wrote to you on Saturday. This I only heard on Saturday night—too late to write by the post. In what terms he has written I do not know. I trust what is decided will be to the glory of God and of His Church.—I am, my dear Gray, yours very truly, ERNEST HAWKINS."

Mr. Gray replied to the Archbishop:—

"Vicarage, Stockton, March 9th, 1847.

"My Lord—I only received your Grace's letter by this day's post, though dated the 6th. Considering all the circumstances of the case, I do not think that I should feel justified in declining to accede to your Grace's proposal. It seems to me that, in doing so, I should be shrinking from the call of God. I therefore readily and cheerfully place myself at the disposal of the Church, and am prepared to obey your Grace's summons to occupy the post of a Missionary Bishop at the Cape. It shall be my unwearied endeavour to promote the Glory of God and the welfare of His Church in that important colony to which I am about to be sent. But no one can feel so keenly as myself my utter inability adequately to discharge the duties of that office, from which I have shrunk as long as I have felt at liberty to do so, but which I no longer decline to undertake, now that your Grace, knowing what my feelings are, sees fit to press it upon me.—I remain, etc. R. GRAY."

On the same day he announced his final answer to Dr. Williamson :—

"Vicarage, Stockton, March 9th, 1847.

"My dear Richard—This day's post brought me two letters—one from the Archbishop, another from Hawkins, of both which I send you copies. You will see that there is but one course open to me. It is my duty at once to place myself at the disposal of the Church, and I write to-night to the Archbishop to say so.

"I have had in this, if ever in anything, a single eye; and have made the matter so much a subject of prayer, beseeching God to dispose of me in that way which would lead most to His Glory, that I cannot for an instant doubt that this matter has been ordained by Him. I am as clear as I can be of anything on earth that it is His Will that I should go. I therefore consent cheerfully, though with trembling, for I know how very incompetent I am for many of the higher duties of a Christian Bishop. I shall need all your prayers; they may avail me often when without them I should stumble and fall. . . . Sophy is quite cheerful and contented. We have not yet mentioned it to any one, and shall not for a few days.—Your affectionate brother, ROB. GRAY."

Looking at the man, and realising what he was, and his perfect unselfishness and lowliness, one cannot wonder at the satisfaction with which his decision was hailed by those with whom the responsibility of the appointment rested. The Archbishop (after explaining the accidental delay of his previous letter) went on to say (March 12th, 1847), "The intimation of your acquiescence in my request has given me great pleasure, because I look for great advantage to the Colony of the Cape from your superintendence of its Church, which has long lingered in a state of infancy. I have been prevented by indisposition from going in person to Earl Grey, but I have written to his Lordship, and expect that in the course of tomorrow he will inform you of his intention to submit your name to Her Majesty. The confidence placed in you by the

Bishop of Durham would of itself be sufficient, not to mention the terms in which your character is spoken of by many most competent judges. . . . —I remain, my dear Sir, your faithful servant, W. CANTUAR."

"79, Pall Mall, March 11th, 1847.

"My dear Gray—I of course cannot but rejoice on public grounds at the result to which you have been led; and I, who am cognisant of the whole proceedings in respect to the appointment of Colonial Bishops, can truly say that they are selected with as scrupulous and conscientious a respect to their qualifications as is possible. In this particular those called upon to serve must have a fuller satisfaction than some of our home Bishops.

"I am much obliged to you for bringing the names you mention before me, though I trust the Bishoprics are now virtually disposed of. Augustus Short, of Christ Church, goes to Adelaide, and (I mention this confidentially, as nothing yet is certain) I hope Mr. Tyrrell,[1] of Beaulieu, Hants,—a friend of Bishop Selwyn, and one who offered to accompany him, to Newcastle. But good men are wanted for various positions. If the Queen, as I doubt not, should authorise your appointment, could you not persuade one of them to go out as Archdeacon? There is none at present, but the patent will doubtless give you powers to create one or more. It is intended, I believe, to include St. Helena within your jurisdiction.

"The Cape Colony is nearly 600 miles from West (Cape Town) to East (Algoa Bay); but there is, I believe, even now a communication by steam. I would advise you to order of your bookseller Chase's *Cape of Good Hope*, published by Richardson, Cornhill. It is the most authentic account of the Colony, and contains a good map. There can, I should think, be no need for you to come to London before Easter. The Consecration will, I daresay, not be till Whitsuntide. When you come you will find no difficulty in getting into communication with those who know the country. The Church is undoubtedly at a very low ebb, but many settlements are willing to receive Clergymen. Parry does not go out till September, nor Short till October, therefore I do not see why you should be hurried. We are about to publish an appeal for funds to assist all four new Bishops.—I am, my dear Gray, yours very truly, ERNEST HAWKINS."

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[1] Now Bishop of Newcastle.

The Bishop of Durham also wrote to express his appreciation of the motives which had guided Mr. Gray in this "very trying occasion;" regretting his removal from his useful position, and offering to be of any use in his power. He concludes with these words: "Humbly but earnestly praying the Almighty to bless the determination at which you have arrived, by giving you the means of promoting His Glory through the salvation of your fellow-creatures, I am, dear sir, your very sincere friend,
"E. DUNELM."

"4, Upper Portland Place, March 25th, 1847.

My dear Sir—I cannot hear without feelings of deep regret that it is finally decided I must lose one of the most exemplary and zealous clergymen in my Diocese. I have only to hope and pray that the Church abroad may gain in a greater proportion than ours at home must lose. I learn from Mr. Hopkins Badnall that you have proposed to him to accompany you for two years. The arrangement appears desirable for both, and you may assure that gentleman of my readiness to facilitate the arrangement by acceding to the wish he has expressed. I told our friend Eden that I wished him to talk over the subject of a successor to you, if the necessity should unfortunately arise. Of course I did not bind myself to accept any one, but I really am anxious to put the best man I can in a place which can never be so well filled again as it has been by you and your immediate predecessor. I shall be glad to talk over this and other matters when you come to town. . . . Yours, very sincerely,
"E. DUNELM."

The official communication from Lord Grey (Colonial Office) reached Mr. Gray on March 23rd, and was followed by letters from the Archbishop and Mr. Hawkins.

"Lambeth, March 23rd, 1847.

"Dear Sir—I lose no time in informing you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of your being appointed to the Bishopric of the Cape of Good Hope. You have made great sacrifices in accepting this important charge; but I trust that the good which, with the Blessing of God, will be effected by your labours, will afford ample compensation for all that you have left for Christ's Sake. I remain, my dear sir, your faithful servant, W. Cantuar.

"*P.S.*—I think you should be prepared to go out by the beginning of October. I propose to hold the Consecration in May. In the meantime, if not inconvenient to you, it might be advisable that you should come up to town to consult respecting particulars." . . .

"79, Pall Mall, March 23rd, 1847.

"My dear Gray—Your tongue may now be unloosed. The Queen has sanctioned your appointment, as well as that of Mr. Tyrrell. . . . God bless the appointments to His Own Honour and Service, and to the welfare, present and eternal, of those who have had grace to accept them. We will consider together when you come up what steps should be taken. I hope you and your three brethren will all ask for a joint Consecration. Yours very faithfully, Ernest Hawkins."

On April 6th Mr. Hawkins wrote to ask Mr. Gray if he had considered whether the Bishop's See should be at Cape Town or Graham's Town, which he said was more in the heart of the English and growing settlement; and in the same letter began the question of finance, which was henceforth to be a never-ceasing source of harass and anxiety to the Bishop-elect. In a letter of the 8th April he alludes to this himself:—

"Grinkle Park, April 8th, 1847.

"My dearest Annie—I have come here for a couple of days' rest and enjoy the quiet. I am studying the Cape and its affairs. I could engage, I believe, the services of the following men [here Mr. Gray mentions five priests, one of whom was

Mr. Badnall, so long his faithful fellow-worker] if I had the means; and I hear of three others, and perhaps four, likely to go. . . . You ask about means. I have not heard as yet much to encourage me on this head. The Bishop has written to Macfarlan of Gainford to say he objects on principle to issue a Pastoral Letter. This is disheartening; but I cannot but hope he will take some steps to help me. I asked Darnell to promote something in the Diocese; but though he has written very kindly to me about other things, he does not allude to this. Altogether I am rather low about the prospects of raising a good sum. . . . I hope and pray Boyd may come to Stockton. I feel much pain myself at separating from these people, who really seem to care for us. Some of them cry so much as almost to make me cry. I sometimes in weak moments think I should not have yielded, if I had known to what extent people thought I might have been useful at Stockton. May God bless them and all of us."

The Bishop of Durham came forward kindly and liberally as regarded his personal desire to help the new Bishop.

"4, Upper Portland Place, April 29th, 1847.

"My dear Sir—Being aware of the wish very generally expressed in my Diocese to mark their sense of your professional services, and to bid you God speed in the arduous course you are about to proceed in from the purest sense of duty, I am desirous to give effect to it, although I have some little misgiving that your over-nice sensibility will not allow me to express my wishes in the way I think best, and therefore am determined to proceed in. I have no objection that my name should stand at the head of the subscription as follows:

"Towards outfit and passage for the Bishop	£100	£150
"For the general purposes of the Diocese	50	

"It appears to me a very great hardship and improper proceeding towards a Colonial Bishop, that he should be called upon, not only to defray the whole of his outfit, but even pay his passage. Therefore, in some slight degree to lessen this charge, I mean what I subscribe to be divided in the above manner. I have another motive also, which is to point out a way in which subscriptions may be given most advantageously, and I believe that by such a course the amount of subscriptions will be increased, because people will be taught that their money may promote two desirable objects instead of one. Now if, from any false delicacy, you object to appropriate the £150 honestly and faithfully in the way I have pointed out, you must allow me to say that I will not authorise a larger sum than £50 to be set down as my subscription."

Mr. Gray objecting to this arrangement, as the Bishop foresaw, he replied (May 1st): "My dear Sir, *Sic volo, sic jubeo*:—you must take my money in my way or not at all. Whether the Government finds you a passage in whole or in part, it matters not; you must be put to great expense in your outfit, and what I put down will, I fear, go but little way towards it. I fear, too, you will be disappointed in the amount raised for Diocesan purposes. Indeed, for the plans you have sketched out, £50,000 would hardly suffice. I believe you know that I have always found the Episcopal arrangements in the Colonies were not always pursued in the wisest way. Where there was a large body of Christians, desirous of being members of our Church, and sufficient funds provided, then a See might be well established. But where there is scarcely a church or a good Christian, I think two or three earnest and judicious Missionaries should be sent as pioneers to a future Bishop, when sufficient funds should be forthcoming. The Endowment, scarcely sufficient for one, frittered away among four or five, puts one in mind of the little caps made by the tailor who was brought before his Excellency Sanchos, Governor of Barataria! You will therefore let my name stand as I requested."

There was also some correspondence between Bishop Maltby and Mr. Gray as to the latter's successor, whom he greatly wished to find in one of the friends of his college days, Mr. Boyd of Arncliffe. A suggestion had been made that Government might claim the appointment to Stockton, it being vacated by a so-called Royal gift. Mr. Gray consulted the Archbishop, Archdeacon Harrison, and others, who "all scouted the idea and thought it unwise to moot the question. Meantime our old Bishop asked Lord John Russell whether he meant to do so!!! He said he had not thought of it, but would consider, and there the matter rests!!!" The Attorney-General advised the Premier that he had this right, and the Bishop of Durham was annoyed about it, and expressed his feelings in several letters to Mr. Gray on the subject, in one of which he says, "I wish, under all circumstances, you would escape climbing the dangerous eminence towards which you are looking. I say it not merely for my own sake, but for that of my Diocese, and particularly for Stockton." The Premier, while asserting his right, left the appointment to the Bishop of Durham, whose intentions were not satisfactory to Mr. Gray. Alluding to this he says (May 10th, 1847): "I am as usual in a sea of troubles. . . . I pray God something better may come. . . . Then I have for a fortnight past been in some hot water for supporting my Churchwarden in refusing to allow any more sales of pews in church. There has been a degree of agitation and irritation which is to me most painful, at this moment especially. It has been coming on for some months, and the case is a very flagrant one. A man in Devonshire offers to sell a pew to the parishioners (which is already theirs), because his brother gave (improperly) £40 for it. The Churchwardens pitied him and offered him £10 compensation, which they were able to do, and have offered to allot the pew to any friend or relative, but forbid the sale. And this has created an unpleasant soreness. But I could not meanly let it pass by, leaving it for my successor to fight out. Altogether I am nearly done up."

The anxieties were heavy and pressing on all sides. In a note to his sister (undated, but evidently written just at this time) Mr. Gray says: "I have literally not had a minute to spare. Every hour in London was taken up with anxious, disappointing, wearing work; and I am now paying the penalty, for I began to be ill on my way down, and was obliged to come out of church yesterday morning, and, instead of going in the evening, to send for the doctor. . . . I was much disappointed with all I heard in London. I have had no prospects held out to me of assistance from any quarter. The Society has not a shilling, and Lord Grey holds out no prospect of anything from the Colonial Office, or from the Colony. Added to this, I am informed my income is to be £750, instead of £900, and I have no certainty of anything for outfit or voyage, which will cost £1,000. Then, though the Bishop wrote twice earnestly to Lord Grey (to whose family he has been very kind), he received me in a most frigid way for ten minutes, and seemed evidently to consider the whole subject a bore, and gave me no encouragement to go to him for anything again. Then the whole *status* of the Bishop, as to power, discipline, etc., is most painful and disappointing. But I cannot enter into this. The Bishop of Tasmania is at home to settle this point, but is failing. Altogether, I feel we are placed in a most cruel position. We have all our higher feelings of duty and devotion appealed to, and the Church and State leave us to shift for ourselves. I could not get a decisive answer from any one upon any point, either Archbishop, Bishop of London, Archdeacon Harrison, etc. Barring the fact of a zealous right-minded Committee for the Cape, there is no one encouraging feature in all my case—I should except, also, the move to be made in this Diocese. The day of Consecration probably will be Whitsun Tuesday, though there is some doubt whether the patents will be ready."

Of course a stream of congratulatory or condoling letters poured in for a time, all more or less expressing a vivid sense of the sacrifice Mr. Gray was about to make, and regretting his departure from England—many most kind and interesting to read at the time, but not of sufficient interest for quotation here.[1] The amount of writing and begging in which the

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[1] Among other expressions of kindness and sympathy, Mr. Gray preserved a very hearty letter from Mr. Macfarlan of Gainford, in which he begs that, should his friend purpose leaving his son in England, the boy may be committed to his charge to be brought up with his own children :—"I should soon be as fond of the bairn as if he were my own." This offer was not accepted, it is needless to say.

Bishop-elect found himself at once plunged, was never indeed to cease during his toilsome life of self-devotion. He was not without active friends. His own Committee did what they could in London, and its proceedings were chronicled by Mr. Cornish (since better known as Mr. Mowbray). After some aggregate meetings of the New Colonial Bishoprics Committees, Lord Richard Cavendish wrote to tell Mr. Gray that a strong desire had been manifested by the members, as well as by the three Bishops-designate who were present, that a representation should be made to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, entreating them to consider whether it was not desirable to use the opportunity afforded by the approaching Consecration of four Bishops, to bring the whole subject of the Colonial Church more directly before the Church of England at large than had yet been done; and whether to this end it might not be advisable to procure an Order in Council for a special prayer to be used throughout the Kingdom. The Archbishop and Bishop of London, however, saw so many difficulties attending on this course, that it had been given up; but they looked favourably on the suggestion substituted—viz., the issuing of Pastoral Letters by all the Archbishops and Bishops, enjoining their Clergy to bring the subject before their respective flocks as a subject of special prayer, even where it might not be expedient to ask alms owing to the large demand lately made for the relief of the famine-stricken Scotch and Irish. According to Lord Richard's suggestion, therefore, Mr. Gray wrote to the Archbishop on the subject, as did the other Bishops-designate.

"It will be the greatest support and encouragement to us," he says in his letter, "in undertaking a work which we already feel to be surrounded with very great difficulties, to know that we are aided by the prayers of the Church at home. For myself, I will say that there is no one thing that will so animate and sustain me amidst the cares and anxieties of my mission, as a conviction that I am not forgotten in the intercessions and supplications of my brethren. The exhausted state of the funds of the S. P. G., together with the little prospect there is of obtaining assistance from the Government at the Cape amidst their present difficulties, make me also most anxious for some general effort on behalf of our Colonial Missions. The whole responsibility of supporting the Clergy whom I may take out with me must devolve upon me, and I do not see how, with the very limited means at my disposal, I can guarantee to more than one or two, incomes adequate to their support. I have already applications from ten or twelve Clergymen to accompany me, but I have not hitherto dared to engage more than one. Trusting your Grace will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with the above statement, and begging to express my hearty and earnest concurrence in the prayer of the three Bishops-designate, I remain, your Grace's obedient servant, ROB. GRAY."

The parishioners of Stockton were not unalive to the loss impending over them; and a letter written to Dr. Williamson in the June before Mr. Gray's Consecration, sets forth the mutual friendly relation which existed between priest and people:—

"My dear Richard—My parishioners, after applying frequently for sermons which I did not think fit to print, have sent the Mayor to request I would publish my last. I cannot refuse, and do not wish, as there are points which I wish them to have before them; and I think their asking very generally to have a memento continually before them of such things, in some degree pledges them to those things. But written, as it has been, in great haste, and amidst many anxieties and distractions, it is a very poor piece of composition, and will do my reputation no good if people are at the trouble to read or criticise it. Nevertheless, I am content to run that risk. I cannot re-write it, having literally not a moment to spare. Will you send it back to Sophy to Stockton, and send me your criticisms at the Master of University College, Oxon, where I shall be (D.V.) from Saturday to Wednesday morning. I preach twice at Oxford on Sunday, and am not prepared; afterwards meetings at Reading and Oxford. I return here July 1st, and have nearly six weeks' work before me. . . . The people here are very affectionate. There is enough said to turn a man's head, and do him no good."

The consecration of the four Bishops, proposed originally for Whitsun Tuesday, was postponed by the Archbishop, who, writing to tell this fact to Mr. Gray, says that "S. Peter's Day will probably be fixed for the Consecration;" and meanwhile the time was, as might be supposed, more than full. Among the many letters of this date, there is one from the Master of University on the subject of Mr. Gray's Doctor's Degree.

"University College, April 27th, 1847.

"My dear Gray—When I last wrote to you, I said I should be ready to make whatever arrangements might be necessary for your D.D. degree. I have accordingly inquired as to the expense and other particulars. In the case of those who have been raised to the Episcopal dignity, it has been usual for the University to grant permission to take the B.D. and D.D. at the same time by especial dispensation, without performing the exercises required in other instances, and without the necessity of the presence of the individual in Oxford. This mode involves somewhat higher charge for fees than the ordinary course, in which the degree is usually conferred after the exercises have been performed. The fees in the case of a Grand Compounder—that is, who has £300 per annum of his own disposable property, independent of ecclesiastical preferment, except it reaches £40 in the King's Books (which I presume the Vicarage of Stockton does not), would be about £90. For one who is not a Grand Compounder, about £55 or £60. In either of these cases, the presence of the person upon whom the Degree is conferred is dispensed with, and a Diploma is sent to him. But these are large sums, especially, if I may be allowed to say so, in the case of one who is about to enter upon an Episcopal charge, accompanied with, I fear, no great pecuniary remuneration, and involving heavy expenses. I may name, then, for your consideration, another mode by which you may have the D.D. degree. It may be conferred upon you as an Honorary degree, *honoris causa.* The instances in which an honorary D.D. has been granted are very rare. I hardly remember one. But it has been suggested that it may be a very convenient way by which Colonial Bishops may be allowed to have their degree at little cost, for the expense does not exceed above £10. If you should prefer this mode, I can have no doubt the consent of the University will be given. You would retain your vote in Convocation should you ever return to England, which you now have as M.A. In this case you must be presented for the degree, and, of course, attend in person some day either before or after the Consecration. When you have considered this matter, I will thank you to let me know your decision. . . . With every sincere wish that a blessing may attend you in your labours, believe me, my dear Gray, yours very truly, F. C. PLUMPTRE."

A few hurried notes (chiefly without date) are the only record of this busy, wearing time, when so many contending interests and hopes and cares were pressing heavily on the Bishop-designate. In a note to Dr. Williamson concerning books for the Cape, he says: "The Crown claims the appointment here, but will *allow* Bishop Maltby to present. . . . Things cannot long go on thus between Church and State; the reciprocity is all on one side. We find the money for foundation of a See, and pay for a patent—'waste paper,' as they call it, and 'a trap to catch Colonial Bishops in,'—and they nominate Bishop and his successor, and keep a tight hold upon all they can catch. They are loosing, step by step, the links that bind Church to State."

"Vicarage, Stockton, May 22nd, 1847.

"My dear Williamson—I have had a very good account of Mr. * * from the Soc., and should be glad to engage his services (if after seeing him he seemed to me likely to suit for my work), provided I had the means at my disposal. But I must be cautious. I have now about £300 a year for *five years*, and £175 from S. P. G., *if they have it to give.* I have no certainty of anything more from any quarter, and I must be responsible for *a life* income to all whom I may take out. Now I am pledged already to £550 a year, and I have [to find] £350 more for men whom I know personally before I can close with strangers. Therefore I am not in a position to *settle* anything with Mr. * * or several others who have applied. But I do not despair, and I know full well I must risk something, though here I really must not involve myself in difficulties, with an income of only £450 from the See, after paying house-rent. I feel that I am not in the position in which a Missionary Bishop of the Church ought to be — dependent altogether upon what I can raise for myself. I had no notion of the utterly helpless condition in which I should be, till my consent was given. I may very easily be ruined, and it requires that I should at least see some prospect of being able to provide for men before I engage their services.

"I go to town on Tuesday, and stay a few days with Hawkins; Saturday to Eton, perhaps then to Oxford for Degree and meeting, then back here for a fortnight, and then I hope to be released; but no appointment has yet been made to this living. Will you find out for me from your friend whether Mr. * * is prepared to undertake Missionary duty to the heathen, or to itinerate in a large district amongst our emigrants, or to take any post I might assign him? Also whether he is a sound and decided Churchman! I suppose he is not in Orders. . . . I am overwhelmed with work and anxieties of various kinds. I had a full meeting here for S. P. G. last week. I think it will not be difficult when I am gone to get and keep up some subscriptions for my Mission here; but we have two distinct subscriptions now going on for building schools, and I have a very unpleasant dispute about pews. But they feel kindly and affectionately, and express themselves so. A deputation was coming to beg me to print a volume of sermons, which I hope I have stopped, for on many grounds I would not do so. Some ladies are presenting me with a set of robes, my Doctor's hood, etc. etc., and other little tokens of kindness. Yesterday a miller, who is a great opponent in the pew question, offered me £5 a year from himself, and £5 from his wife. . . . Yesterday the

Bishops were to debate at Lambeth about inviting the Church to special prayer for the Colonial Church, and the issuing of Pastoral Letters in its behalf. We four Bishops-designate wrote to the Archbishop, and our letters would, I suppose, be read. I had only an hour or two's notice. . . . . When do you most wish us to come to you? I see plainly I shall be greatly pressed for time, and this delay of the Consecration will hurry me still more.—Ever affectionately yours, ROB. GRAY."

The last days at Stockton came, and on June 23rd Mr. and Mrs. Gray went to London, where, on Tuesday, June 29th, 1847, being St. Peter's Day, the Consecration took place.

From that time the toil and wear increased, every day became rapidly pledged in all directions, and sermons and meetings on behalf of his African Diocese demanded all the strength and energy that even Bishop Gray possessed. Some few hurried letters give an idea of what these months were.

To Mrs. WILLIAMSON.

"Whitworth, July 12th, 1847.

"My dearest Annie—I seize a *very* early moment to send you a line. I have been rushing from place to place since we met, and Sophy is well-nigh done up. We had a very pleasant visit to Cambridge. . . . I dined also at Miss Burdett Coutts'. We came up from Cambridge in the night during the thunderstorm in order to be in time next morning for Mr. Richmond, but he was ill in bed. I am very hard up for time. . . . I have fixed nothing as to time of sailing, and am dreadfully hurried. I am obliged to give up altogether several visits, and cut down others."

"Almondsbury, Sept. 25th, 1847.

"I am overwhelmed with candidates and correspondence, and have been very unwell while here, but am better. You will see I am quite oppressed with engagements and work. I do not know how I shall get away by the 10th."

Already the sleeplessness, which to the end of his busy life was a perpetual thorn in the flesh to Bishop Gray, was increasing upon him; and every day of excitement or anxiety, of strain in preaching or speaking, was sure to be followed by a night of wakefulness. Bearing in mind what a ceaseless chain of such excitement and anxiety, of preaching and speaking, his life henceforth was, it is marvellous that he should have held out so long, and that, at the close of his episcopate, he should still have preserved as clear and vigorous a brain as ever.

The Bishop's Journal during the remainder of his time in England shows how truly he was "oppressed" with engagements and claims. Some extracts from it will speak for themselves:—

"*Aug.* 25*th*, 1847.—Went to London from Sutton Coldfield by an early train. Sat to Mr. Richmond. Went to S. P. G., where sat in council for an hour with Bishops of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Newcastle. Agreed to write to each other every six months. Called on Sir H. Smith—much pleased with him. Agreed to apply to Secretary at War for three military chaplains. Dined at 79, Pall Mall; Bishops of Adelaide and Melbourne, Ch. Wordsworth, Macdougal, Missionary to Borneo, etc. 28*th*, By railroad to Wakefield. 29*th*, Preached at Wakefield in the morning, Dewsbury in the evening; crowded congregations. 30*th*, Meeting in evening; very crowded. 31*st*, Went to Leeds; dined at one o'clock with Dr. Hook; preached at S. Mary's at three P.M.; left instantly by rail for Mirfield, where was engaged to attend a meeting at seven P.M. Arrived just in time; good meeting.

"*September* 1*st*.—Went into Leeds for Bishop's visitation; sat with him at altar in robes, dined afterwards with clergy, addressed them about Cape Colony. 2*nd*, Went to Lord Ellesmere's at Worsley, near Manchester—excellent people—he is building two churches. 3*rd*, Meeting at Manchester, Hugh Stowell promised future assistance. Went over parish church with Canons Parkinson and Clifton—then by rail to Liverpool to arrange about sermons and meetings there. Home late at night with Lady Ellesmere and daughters. 4*th*, Returned to Leeds, dined at Doctor Hook's party of clergy; Sinclair there, took much interest in my Mission. *Sunday, 5th,* Preached at parish church in morning — Holy Communion—quiet drive to Bradford for afternoon service at 3 o'clock, ten miles—arrived just in time—full church—back to S. George's at Leeds (Sinclair's) just in time for evening service. 6*th,* To Mr. Ingham's at Mirfield. 7*th,* Meeting at Bradford. 8*th,* Excellent meeting at Wakefield—party at dinner at Mr. Sharp's the vicar. Parkinson of S. Mary's half offered to go out with me. Likely man to be useful. 9*th,* Bad meeting at Skipton, drove home with Boyd at night, sixteen miles. 10*th,* Wrote letters and walked on the hills." .

A letter written thence to Miss Cole (daughter of Sir Lowrie Cole, formerly Governor at the Cape) further exemplifies how engrossing the Bishop's work at this time was, as indeed it never ceased to be through the remainder of his life. In this letter too occurs the first mention of Natal; a subject destined to be one of such ceaseless care for that remaining life of his.

"Arncliffe, September 10th, 1847.

"My dear Miss Cole . . . I take advantage of a quiet day, the first I have had for a long time, to reply to you. . . . I have been obliged to defer my departure till the first week in November, finding it utterly impossible to get through the work before me until that time. I had a very satisfactory interview with Sir Harry Smith[1] in London about a fortnight ago, having gone there chiefly to see him. We have each sent in a strong representation about additional chaplains for the forces in Kaffraria, where there are 5,000 without a single clergyman, besides a regiment at Port Natal. At Natal also there are 800 English settlers, chiefly members of the Church, and no clergyman there or within (I believe) 200 miles. I am very anxious about that outpost, where Sir P. Maitland informed me also there would be a fine field for planting a Church Mission to the heathen. I have proposed to Mr. Harris[2] to go to him on the

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[1] Actual Governor of the Cape in 1847.

[2] The Hon. Charles A. Harris, then Rector of Wilton, and later Bishop of Gibraltar.

15th, and I am thinking of writing to ask whether we could get a special meeting at Salisbury on the 16th or 17th. I am to attend a meeting near Bristol. I am, however, nearly worn out with incessant moving about, and talking on the same subject to fresh people every day. I have been in these parts about a fortnight, and shall raise about £450. . . . I spent two nights at Worsley, and was very much pleased with Lord and Lady Ellesmere—would that all our great people were like them; their simplicity and friendship, and family affection, and attention to religious duties, are all very striking. . . . Your example in raising the £100 a year led, I believe, Lady Dartmouth to attempt the same (for I showed her your list) in which she has succeeded. I have also heard that Colonel and Mrs. Austin (whom I do not know) are making a similar effort; and my friend Boyd of this place, whom I recommend as Bishop of Cape Town instead of myself, is going to get people to join with him, each pledging themselves to raise £10 a year. I believe, also, I shall obtain some assistance from the clergy of the towns where I have been in future years. One very happy result of our being thrown upon the Church and compelled to raise our own funds is, that we have in several places drawn together clergy who have not usually acted together. In many cases they find a common ground of union in the support of the Church's Missionary Bishop. This has been the case at Hull, York, Leeds, Manchester, where we had Mr. Stowell, who has promised me future assistance; and will be the case, I hope, at Liverpool. I rejoice greatly in this; it is a very happy thing in the present divided state of feeling, and I trust that in future years similar and more striking results will follow. . . . I have engaged eight men, and have several more under consideration. I have not yet fixed upon one of these for Colesberg, because I do not yet quite know the class of people he would have to minister to; I am in doubt how far it is a military post. There is a Dr. Orpen[1] at Birkenhead, who is most anxious to be at Colesberg. He is a scientific and eccentric man, and has published a good deal. He has five sons colonists in or near Colesberg. . . . He has given much of his attention to languages, and was first introduced to me through Miss Burdett Coutts. My income now from all quarters is about £800 a year. Capital raised, £4,500, or thereabouts. Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Frances Cole and your sisters, and believe me ever, very faithfully yours,

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[1] Dr. Orpen did go eventually to Colesberg, and later on is mentioned by the Bishop of Cape Town in high terms.

"R. CAPETOWN."

To resume extracts from the Bishop's Diary:—"*Sunday, September* 12*th,* Preached at Huddersfield, morning and evening, afternoon at Farley Tyas. 13*th,* Tolerable meeting at Huddersfield; spoke very fairly; travelled all night to London. 14*th,* Sat to Richmond, went down to Worsley in Bucks—knocked up. 15*th,* Wilton: arrived at Mr. Harris' to dinner; meeting in the evening—Newton Smart, Mr. Fane of Warminster. 16*th,* Salisbury; went over the beautiful Cathedral, the exterior of which I admire much more than the interior; went to evening prayers, called on Bishop and Dean. 17*th,* Went by coach to Bath, and by rail to Bristol; arrived at Almondsbury in time for a hurried dinner and evening meeting. *Sunday,* 19*th,* Preached at Henbury, Cathedral, and S. Nicholas—collection altogether £100. 20*th,* Lady Young with us, Lord Teignmouth, Mr. Woodward. . . 21*st,* To Cheltenham; preached in Alexander Watson's church; baptized Mr. Bellair's child at the parish church . . . very ill. Dined and slept at the Bellairs', met Lord Forbes, Sir George Prevost, Alexander Watson, and others. . . 24*th,* Preached at Mr. Woodward's in Bristol, S. James', many clergy there. *Sunday,* 26*th,* To Gloucester—still ill; poor congregation at Mr. Coghlan's church; evening, preached at Cirencester, Rev. Mr. Powell;—immense congregation, church crammed in every quarter, not less than 2,000 souls, country people came in from all quarters to hear a Missionary Bishop preach; good work going on there. 27*th,* Up early, walked to Mr. Powell's new church, by Scott—promised me the plans; after breakfast went off by rail, stopped near Stroud, and had a sharp walk to call on Mr. Hough, and have an hour's conversation with him; arrived in Bristol a little after twelve o'clock; went to Lord Teignmouth's to luncheon; meeting in Victoria Rooms at two o'clock for Cape, Lord Teignmouth in chair; speakers, Professor Lee, Battersby, Woodward, Barrow, Hensman;—all spoke most kindly of my dear father. Spoke well. After meeting, Clergy resolved to raise me £100 per year. Mr. Hensman, too, in course of afternoon pledged me £100 a year for five years. 28*th*, Bade Henry farewell and Emilie; dined and slept at Charles Wordsworth's; met Mr. Palmer of Worcester, and the Frere family. 29*th*, To Brighton for a meeting, dined and slept at Mr. Anderson's. Bishop of Chichester there, Bishop very kind, pressed me to come to a meeting at Chichester and stay with him. Met Mr. Elliott, Mr. Trower, who was offered the Cape after I expressed unwillingness to go. Spoke feebly and confusedly; people however seemed impressed, and felt and spoke kindly. . . .

"*October* 2*nd*. A long day from Canterbury to Birmingham. 3*rd*, My birthday; enter this day on my 39th year. May I have grace given me to discharge faithfully the new duties which the past year has brought with it. Preached in Mr. Yorke's church, S. Philip's, in the morning; in Mr. Miller's, S. Martin's, in the evening. 4*th*, Went to breakfast at Sutton Coldfield, helped to lay foundation stone of a new school, and addressed the parents and children. Wrote letters all day. 5*th*, Williamson preached in Birmingham on behalf of S. P. G. and S. P. C. K.; meeting for same societies in evening, Bishop of Worcester in chair. Lord Sandon spoke. I spoke tolerably. Clergy spoke very kindly and promised assistance, especially Messrs. Yorke and Miller. 6*th*, Arrived at Kidderminster in time for the meeting at twelve—Dr. Peel, Dean of Worcester in the chair; Lord Lyttleton, Woodgate, Melville, and a great body of clergy; preached in evening; many of the clergy dined at Mr. Claughton's.[1] 7*th*, Prayers at seven at some distance amidst a torrent of rain; Clergy promised to raise contributions for five years towards the maintenance of Mr. Douglas, of whom all the Clergy spoke most warmly; went to Mr. Douglas', where I left Sophy. . . . To Malvern, to the Vicar's, Mr. Wright. . . 8*th,* Up early, wrote letters, walked up to the top of the hill, and enjoyed the glorious view on each side; liked the Herefordshire view best. Several at breakfast; preached at eleven o'clock in the fine Abbey Church, collection near £100. . . . Drove to Worcester, where the Douglases met us; large party of Clergy at dinner, addressed them about the Cape, expressed great interest. 9*th,* Journey to Liverpool—wheel of one of the carriages came off, which delayed us; Rector, Campbell, met us and drove us to Childwall. *Sunday, October* 10*th,* Went in to preach in Liverpool—morning at S. Barnabas, Mr. Nolan's, who promised, if no one else did, to work for the Cape; called on Mr. Cecil Wray; dined with Ewbank, and preached in his church. . . Great panic and distress in the money market compels me to give up the meeting for to-morrow. 11*th,* Drove in early to Liverpool, went to Stretton, Mr. Greenall, where we were to have had a meeting, but sufficient time not having been given, had only a few friends to dinner—Badnall, Cecil Wray, Blenkinsopp, Warburton, etc. . . 12*th,* Returned through Liverpool, and went by Birkenhead to Chancellor Raikes. Meeting at two o'clock, small attendance, seemed interested. Met Sir H. Dukinfield, Canon Eton, Mr. Buller, etc. To Cathedral—very poor, and dilapidated externally; choir restored very nicely. Walked round the walls of the town and looked over S. John's church, which is very beautiful, Norman in exterior, but altogether in a sad state of repair. 13*th,* Returned to Liverpool, walked round the town, docks, etc., with Rev. Cecil Wray; dined with Mr. Pollock . . . preached in evening; slept at Childwall. 14*th,* Got up ill; went early to Liverpool; Sophy proceeded to London, I by rail and coach to Shrewsbury. Very ill all the way; preached in evening, returned to Egremont's, at Wroxeter. 15*th,* Meeting in Shrewsbury at one o'clock, Dr. Kennedy in the chair. 16*th,* Up very early. Egremont drove me nearly to Shrewsbury, when we met the coach, which took me to Whitmore. Made the best of my way, still very unwell, to Settle; arrived at 10 P.M., partly coach, partly railway.

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[1] Now Bishop of Rochester.

"*Settle, Sunday, October* 17*th.*—Thanksgiving day—did not preach in morning—in afternoon at Long Preston, evening Settle. Still ill, sent for doctor. 18*th,* Up at three o'clock, wrote part of sermon for Wells, and letters. Boyd came over for meeting at 11 o'clock. . . . Tolerable meeting at Giggleswick, spoke well. . . . Left after the meeting by mail for Lancaster, arrived there at 6 P.M., took the rail, travelled all night, arriving in Euston Square at 5.30 A.M.

"*London, October* 19*th.*—Had an interview with Lord Grey, who yielded the point of the Chaplain, allowing me, *pro hac vice,* to name a person to him. Heard that Government would allow three military chaplains, at £80 a year each!!! Remonstrated, went to S. P. G., War Office, etc."

Here some letters fill in a gap, one from Bishop Blomfield, to whom Bishop Gray had applied for advice.

"Fulham, October 19th, 1847.

"My dear Lord—I hardly know what to advise you with respect to Earl Grey. He is not a person easy to be moved from a determination once taken. You might urge the precedent of our West Indian Dioceses, in which, if I am not mistaken, some at least of the Government Patronage was given up to the Bishop. But I would recommend you to speak to the Archbishop on the subject. If anything can be done with Lord Grey, his Grace will be the person to do it. I am sorry that the effects of a severe blow on my head have disabled me for a time from attending to business. I hope that if you return to London from Wells, I may have the pleasure of seeing you at Fulham.—I remain, my dear Lord, yours very truly,

"The Lord Bishop of Capetown. C. J. LONDON."

To Miss COLE.

Glastonbury, October 23rd, 1847.

"My dear Miss Cole—You will be glad to hear that Lord Grey has most kindly met my wishes about the Chaplaincy, and allows me, *pro hac vice,* to recommend a person to him for it. This does not concede the principle, but is nevertheless as much as I could expect, and I feel grateful to him. He has also been very kind in interesting himself about Military Chaplains. Mr. Fox Maule admits that two or three are wanted, but objects to their being placed where Sir H. Smith proposes :—therefore writes to hear where he thinks they should be placed,—thereby losing six months. Then he will be prepared to recommend £80 a year for men who cannot discharge their duties without keeping a horse, and this in a country where provisions are now very dear, and where they would be liable to be dismissed after a short war, and they have nothing offered for passage or outfit! Lord Grey has written to say he thinks it insufficient, and I trust we may get something done. I am staying here with my Archdeacon, preaching and attending meetings twice a day, but I leave early this morning. It would do your heart good to hear the clergy speak of him. He is a Mr. Merriman."[1] . . .

DIARY. "*October* 20*th*, Went by train to Bridgewater, posted to Street, arrived at Merriman's in time for early dinner, addressed a crowded meeting in schoolroom. Lord J. Thynne spoke most highly of Merriman, promised to exert himself to raise a fund to help him to an assistant. 21*st*, Preached in Wells Cathedral for the five Church Societies, afterwards attended a meeting for the same, the Bishop in the chair, which lasted till 5 o'clock—an interesting meeting. 22*nd*, Letters till 1 o'clock, drove to Glastonbury Abbey, walked up to the Tor on which the last Abbot of Glastonbury was hung. Preached at Butleigh (the Dean of Windsor's), afterwards spoke for an hour at a very full meeting. 23*rd*, Left Merriman after breakfast. . . Rail to Slough, where we slept at the inn, finding the Worsleys were not at home." From hence the Bishop wrote to his sister :—

"Slough, October 23rd, 1847.

Dearest Annie—A quiet evening at the inn here, where we have stopped, in preference to taking a wet drive of ten miles to Kitty's empty house, enables me to write a line to you and my dear children, which I have not been able to do for some time. I have just returned from Glastonbury, where I have been staying with my Archdeacon, Merriman. It is quite delightful to hear the Clergy all round speak of him. I cannot be too thankful for having been enabled to engage his services, and those of so many other good men. I have been attending meetings incessantly since I saw you. . . . I spent one day in town, and had an interview with Lord Grey, who now allows me to recommend to the Chaplaincy, for which I am most thankful. I think also we shall get two or three military chaplains, though Fox Maule offers £80 a year, which enrages me! Lord Grey tells him it is too little, and I have written indignantly. . . . I hope my dear children do not trouble you much. I pray you be very strict with them. Give them all my best love, and tell them I wish I could have a romp with them. . . . Your affectionate brother, ROB. CAPETOWN."

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[1] Since 1871 Bishop of Graham's Town.

DIARY. "*Sunday, Oct. 24th.*—Preached in morning at Mr. Shaw's church at Stoke; afternoon at Clewer (Mr. Carter's); evening at Holy Trinity, Windsor. . . . Slept at Mr. Coleridge's—met Abraham, Balston, Hawtrey, and others there. 25*th*, Up to London early, went to 79 Pall Mall to see candidates, engaged Mr. Bull; went down in afternoon to Archbishop at Addington, walked round the grounds with Archdeacon Harrison—Dean of Canterbury and Dr. Mill staying here. 26*th*, Had a great deal of conversation with Dean of Canterbury—walked round this beautiful park. Some people at dinner, had some conversation with the kind old Archbishop. *Oct.* 27*th*, Went to town with Dr. Mill, Archdeacon Harrison, and the Dean of Canterbury; met Sophy at E. C. Railway, and arrived at Godmanchester in time for dinner. *Oct.* 28*th*, Walked to Lady Olivia Sparrow's at Brampton, found there Sir Peregrine and Lady S. Maitland, Bickersteth, and Dr. Achilli; went to hear his account of the proposed Ref. and Prot. College in the evening—not much edified or interested; left the meeting before it was over. . . . *Oct.* 30*th*, Meeting at Huntingdon. . . . . In the evening Cambridge to Carns. Met a party there of Fellows of Colleges, etc., at tea. Invited afterwards to lay before them the circumstances of the Cape—they seemed interested. *Sunday, Oct.* 31*st.*—Preached in Carns' church in morning, after having attended full Cathedral Service in Trinity Coll. Chapel. Went at 2 o'clock to hear Ch. Wordsworth preach the Hulsean Lecture, which lasted an hour and a quarter—dined in Hall at 4 o'clock with Professor Sedgwick—afterwards to common room. Preached in evening at Christ Church—after service addressed for nearly an hour 250 undergraduates, crowded into Carns' rooms."

In a letter, dated November 3rd, Bishop Gray says to his sister, Mrs. Williamson, "I have had some hard work lately, especially at Cambridge, where I had four full services, and then addressed 250 young men for nearly an hour. I hope to get something done there, and £100 a year from Huntingdon. Poor Charlie has had hard work to whitewash me at Brampton and elsewhere, and, I am afraid, has not succeeded! I am quite sick of the exclusiveness of cliques! Two of the Committee of the Colonial Church Society . . . . did me all the harm they could. But I have every reason to be thankful. I shall be ruined if I don't get £2,000 a year, for I must pledge myself to this amount. I think I have got full £1,300. . . . . Our day of sailing is not fixed yet. Best love to my little ones—tell them I shall be glad to see them again."

"*Nov.* 1*st.*—London—went to the Docks to look at some ships—left London again by the 3 o'clock train for Romford. *Nov.* 2*nd,* Alverstoke—Rev. S. Walpole . . . . heard from him about a very valuable Curate, Mr. Douglas, who is anxious to become a Missionary. *Nov.* 3*rd,* Went over by 9 o'clock boat to Ryde, Mr. Phillips met us—preached in his church for Cape, and celebrated Holy Communion. . . . . Crowded meeting in evening. 4*th,* Drove early to Brading and Ventnor to show Sophy the Island—left for Portsmouth by 3 o'clock boat—Bishop's carriage met us at Chichester. . . . 5*th,* Full special service in the Cathedral, meeting at 1 o'clock. . . . 6*th,* Left at 8 o'clock for Bath, stopped a few minutes at 79 Pall Mall on our way through. Arrived in time for dinner at Mr. Markland's. *Sunday, Nov. 7th,* Preached in morning at Mr. Scarth's church, afternoon at Christ's Church. . . . . Evening to an immense congregation at Walcott, chiefly poor. . . . . 8*th,* Preached in the morning at the Abbey Church, collection £80. Meeting in the evening very full. . . . . 9*th,* Left the Marklands, from all of whom we had met with much kindness, with regret—1 o'clock train to Eton, met a large party of Eton masters and others at dinner at Coleridge's. 10*th,* Wrote letters great part of the day; called on Dean of Windsor—went to S. George's Chapel, and spent quiet evening with Coleridge. . . . . 11*th,* Confirmation of Grenadier Guards at Windsor—very touching address from Bishop of Oxford. Up to London—family party. . . . 12*th,* Committee day at S. P. G. Learnt that they could do nothing more for me. Also at War Office, that Fox Maule consents to the Chaplains at £150 a year each. . . . 13*th,* Exeter—dinner-party at Mr. Cornish's—Sir T. Duckworth, Archdeacon Bartholomew.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 14*th,* Preached three times—Holy Trinity, S. David's, and S. Sidwell's. Morning and afternoon crowded churches—evening, no standing room even beyond the doorways. . . . 15*th,* An excellent public meeting—Bishop Coleridge, Dean of Exeter; Archdeacon Bartholomew in chair, Sir T. Dyke Ackland, and others. . . . Afterwards a large dinner party at Archdeacon Bartholomew's. 16*th,* Went by rail down the Exe, through Dawlish and Teignmouth, close by the river and the sea; a most beautiful drive to Torquay, then took a fly to the Bishop of Exeter's at Bishopstowe. . . . Met Mr. Maskell, Lord Sinclair, and others, at the Bishop's at dinner. 17*th,* Service at Torquay at 11 o'clock. Bishop preached an excellent sermon recommending my cause. I consecrated at Holy Communion—one hundred Communicants,—we knelt afterwards for each other's blessing. At 2 o'clock public meeting. . . . Then posted to Plymouth, arrived at Dr. Yonge's at 10.30 at night. 18*th,* Preached in S. Andrew's Church, Mr. Hatchard's. . . . 19*th,* Meeting—left after, and arrived at Mr. Cornish's about 9 P.M.

. . . 20*th,* London—stopping an hour at Reading to see Worsley, who was ill. Afternoon spent doing business. *Sunday,* 21*st,* Preached at Dodsworth's—Christ Church . . . and in evening at S. John's, Westminster. . . . 22*nd,* Went to Bishop of Oxford,—spent a few hours in Oxford—Called on Dr. Pusey, Charles Marriott, Plumptre, Palmer, Rector of Exeter. 23*rd,* Inflammation in the eyes,—returned to town,—confined to the house for a day or two. Busied with candidates and correspondence. *Sunday,* 28*th,* Preached in S. George's, Hanover Square, and in evening at Stoke Newington—offered Mr. Pope the Curate, the Chaplaincy of the Cathedral Church at Cape Town. 30*th,* Went to Lord Beresford's at Bedgebury Park to pay Hope a visit.

"*December* 1*st,* Went to Canterbury to see S. Augustine's and the Cathedral—greatly interested with both. *Sunday,* 5*th,* Went a large party, to S. Andrew's, Wells Street, for a last Communion,—hearty, all of us were there, including Uncle Tom, who drove up from Greenwich for it. 6*th,* Dined and slept at Fulham—Bishop of London very unwell still. Met Bishop of Winchester and Archdeacon Sinclair. *Thursday,* 8*th,* Holy Communion for our party at Mr. Boone's Church. *Sunday,* 12*th,* Detained by foul winds—servants embarked last Sunday—ship still in the Downs; went to Bennett's Church. 15*th.* Summoned to Portsmouth. Williamson and Annie, Charles, Edward, Henry, and our whole party, took up our quarters at the India Arms, Gosport. 16*th,* Went to 8 o'clock prayers at Alverstoke—many called, amongst others Lord F. Fitzclarence, Governor of Portsmouth, and Lady A. Fitzclarence—asked us to dinner—we lunched there. Sir C. Ogle, the Admiral, placed his yacht at our disposal. 17*th,* Went at Lieutenant Burrowes' invitation on board the "Excellent" to see sailors' practice at the guns. . . . *Monday, Dec.* 20*th,* Summoned on board—fair wind. Weighed anchor at about 11 o'clock.

And so began the new phase of life upon which Bishop Gray was entering—a life of one ceaseless, unintermitting toil and harass, such as no man could have endured without the strong abiding sense which he ever had that he was doing His Master's work in the one particular place and condition to which, by that Master's Will, he was specially called. Surely he was literally fulfilling the words, which to him were no mere sweet sound of one that has a very pleasant voice:

> "Think not of rest, though dreams be sweet;
> Start up, and ply your Heavenward feet.
> Is not God's oath upon your head,
> Ne'er to sink back on slothful bed;
> Never again your loins untie,
> Nor let your torches waste and die,
> Till, when the shadows thickest fall,
> Ye hear your Master's midnight call?"

CHAPTER IV.

DECEMBER, 1847, TO FEBRUARY, 1849.

Sails from England—Bay of Biscay—Christmas Day on board Ship—Services—Madeira—Landing—Funchal—Visit to Queen Adelaide—Confirmation—Church Divisions in Madeira—Sermon on Charity—Re-embarkation—Correspondence about the Troubles in Madeira Diocese of the Cape—Tribes—Government—Religious State of Things—Landing at the Cape—Cape Town—Takes Protea—Sir Harry Smith—Cathedral—Lent Services—Sects—Mahometans—Wynberg—Day of Thanksgiving—Need of more Clergy—Question of Education—Popular Governor—Letter to Mr. Hawkins—Urgent Needs of the Diocese—Pressure of Money Matters—Letter to Mr. Merriman—Easter-Day—South African College—Invitations to Government House—Coloured People—Newspapers—Severe Illness—Diocesan Work—Synod—Preparations for First Visitation—Life of Simeon—Visitation Journal—Moravian Institution—Port Elizabeth Peace-making—The Dutch Farmer—Sunday River—Thirty-Ninth Birthday—Ride of Ninety Miles to Fort William—Meeting with Kafir Chiefs—Graham's Town—Lost by the Way—Bathurst—Fort Beaufort—Wild Life—Colesberg—Treatment of the Coloured Population—Mountain Scenery—Outspanning in the Karroo—Break-down of Wagon—Return to Protea—Archdeacon Merriman—Collegiate School—Church and State—Synod—Finance—Clergy in Cape Town—Applications for Help to Government—Summoned to S. Helena.

THE Bishop and Mrs. Gray, accompanied by their four children, the Rev. and Hon. H. Douglas, Rev. H. Badnall, Mr. Davidson, and some others, sailed in the *Persia* on December 28, 1847. That same day a few lines to his sister were sent on shore by the pilot. "We are just passing the Needles," it says:—"Sophy is very busy at work, but we are both rather giddy. I have had some little points of etiquette about dining, etc., to settle with Catechists. Very best love to all dear friends and relations."

The Bay of Biscay was as usual a trial to all the party.

"Monday, December 27, W. Long. 14.40, N. Lat. 40.15.

"My dearest Annie. . . . On Tuesday night it began to blow fresh, and late that evening I retired, being able to stand out no longer, to my berth, not to emerge again till Saturday morning. In fact, every one was ill except Mr. Davidson and Bessy; and what we should have done without the latter I know not, as she waited most valiantly upon every one. All Tuesday night the ship rolled very unpleasantly, and we had little sleep. . . . On Thursday night it blew a very severe gale, and a more wretched night I never spent. The ship staggered under repeated seas, which washed over her decks, and it required considerable efforts to keep in our berths. . . . Of course we did not sleep, and it really was a very terrible night, just at the beginning, too, of the Bay of Biscay. Indeed, the Captain said he had never seen in this part of the world for the last twenty-five years so dangerous a sea. It was not so very high, but there seemed cross seas in every direction. One sea, which hit us about midships, just by the Captain's cabin (and which let in through the chinks opened by its pressure a good deal of water upon him), came also over the skylight on the quarter-deck, broke through it, and went up to our stern cabin, where it floated several of my books. We were none of us, however, much alarmed, and in the morning things grew more quiet, but Friday still saw us all tossing on our beds. On Saturday morning we got upon deck, and I felt so far revived, that, beyond my expectations, I was able to read morning Prayers, it being Christmas Day. I was thankful to be again able to bend the knee, which I had not done since Tuesday. Since that time we have been gradually improving, and on Sunday Douglas read prayers, and I preached, and administered the Holy Communion to sixteen. We had a very good congregation. In the evening I read prayers. This morning we have commenced again our family prayers, being the Psalms, and a certain number of the Collects, in the cuddy, and the passengers generally attend; but there are some still sick. . . . Now that we are gradually recovering, we shall hope to begin to study, and commence systematically to work with our candidates, but we cannot begin to-day, as it is blowing fresh, and we still feel squeamish. I hope, however, to set to work upon a sermon for Madeira, and I shall not scruple to speak out, though I fear it will be to little purpose, even if I should be there on a Sunday, which is uncertain. The children have been very unwell, but are gradually recovering. Amidst all, we feel cheerful and contented, and very thankful to be getting well again. Our last parting is fresh in our memory, nor will it easily be forgotten. I could not say much, but I felt very deeply all the tender affection of you all for so long a time, and I was only sorry that dear Henry was not able to be with us. This voyage will, I hope, enable me to see more of my little ones, and to talk to them, which I have not been able to do of late. We wish you to send this letter to the brethren, and to Mrs. Myddleton and Kitty, as I shall not be able to write to them. Pray tell Charles that he would now lose considerably were we to compare measures again. That night, when I lay lashed at the top of my inclined plane struggling against my fate, with four days' starvation in bed, to say nothing of other causes, has reduced me to very slim proportions, and no one could justly criticise any part of my figure. A broiling ride from west to east at the Cape could not have operated more effectually upon me.

"*Wednesday, December 29th, 12 o'clock.*—We have just caught sight of land, Porto Santo, and may perhaps land at Madeira to-night. We have had a most prosperous passage since I last wrote. Several of our passengers and one of my Catechists are still very ill; none of us feel indeed quite right yet. But I think I am more up to work than any one else, at least I sit more steadily in my cabin to work."

All that night the ship tossed about waiting for daylight, and when that came a dead calm came too, and the greater part of December 30th was spent lying off the Island of Madeira, at which the sea-sick travellers gazed admiringly from deck until the afternoon, when Mr. Lowe, the English Chaplain, came out for them, and the whole party landed in time to go and return thanks for their safe journey at Evensong. The children were established in a hotel, Mr. Badnall went to some friends, and the Bishop and Mrs. Gray, and Mr. Douglas, accepted Mr. and Mrs. Lowe's invitation to be their guests.

Queen Adelaide was at that time wintering in Madeira, and on December 31st the Bishop writes: "After Church yesterday I went to leave my letters for the Queen Dowager, and her Majesty has sent to invite me and my Chaplain to dinner to-day at 7 o'clock. The scenery of this place is most beautiful, and we have lovely summer weather. I dressed this morning with my windows open, looking over the town upon the sea, with orange-trees loaded with fruit, and various tropical trees and plants which still smell very sweet though the flowers are nearly all gone. The town is a poor, though singular place; no fine buildings; the Cathedral very bare and impoverished-looking. The Jesuits' College, a large straggling building. Church property here has been all confiscated, and the priests seem very poor, and religion at a low ebb. I like what I see of the Lowes very much, and shall do all I can to reconcile parties;[1] but I fear his opponents are not very respectable. I am, I believe, with the Queen's Chaplain (Mr. Hudson), to have an interview with some of the leading dissentients, but I have not much hope of doing anything effectual. Afterwards, if I have time, I am going to make a little *giro* about the Island; but, if not, Sophy will go with the Chaplains on horseback. She and Bessy came up here in palanquins; and indeed the hills are so steep, and it is so warm, nobody thinks of walking. The Confirmation is to be to-morrow morning, and I suppose we shall sail in the evening; but I would gladly spend a week here. We shall not be able to see the most beautiful parts of the Island. It is a great plague to have the little time I am here taken up in settling Church disputes, but I shall willingly devote myself to it. The children are to go about to-day in palanquins, and see what they can; they enjoy the views very much, and certainly nothing of the kind can be more beautiful. The whole sides of the mountains or hills, which rise steep behind the town, are studded with villas and gardens, and the lights and shades are perfect. And now I must conclude, for there is a Portuguese ship going to-day to Lisbon which will take this. . . . —Ever your affectionate brother,

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[1] It is well known that an unfortunate division between the members of the English Church resident in Madeira had taken place, and the Bishop of London had officially requested Bishop Gray to try and reconcile them.

"R. Capetown."

The first day of the New Year, 1848, was spent almost as actively in Madeira as the whole of the past year; indeed it was at no time natural to Bishop Gray to remain in inaction, and, go where he might, work and anxiety and toil for the Church he loved, seemed to gather round him as a matter of course. His own account of the day is interesting.

To E. Gray, Esq.

"Funchal, January 1st, 1848.

"My dear Edward—I sit down at nearly three o'clock in the morning, before I leave this place, after a very harassing day, to write you a few lines, because I am unwilling to depart without doing so. We have been much charmed with this place, although my time has been so taken up with the affairs of the Church that I have only had one ride into the country, and have lost some very beautiful scenery. But I am quite willing to give it up if I could be sure I was doing good, which is not certain. This whole day has been employed in this way:—Church and Confirmation from 10 to 12. Discussions with individuals about existing dissensions till 1 o'clock. Public meeting at the Consulate at 1, at which only one side attended, the other pleading they had gone too far to be reconciled. After that, calling upon the parties who would not come to the meeting, and the Portuguese Governor. Then another meeting till near dark with the leaders of the opposite party. Then a call upon a Clergyman who has fomented divisions; and since prayers till now writing a long report to the Bishop of London. You would be shocked if you could hear and see all I have done this day as to the spirit and temper of men calling themselves Christians. The poor Chaplain here is really a man of God; his opponents, I fear, not under any sanctifying influence at all. But enough; I have done all I could, and am much distressed. Things will, I fear, get worse and worse for themselves, unless they retrace their steps at the eleventh hour, which I fear pride will not allow.

"We dined with the Queen-Dowager yesterday, and I had the honour of sitting between her and her sister, the Duchess Ida, whom I took in to dinner. I was exceedingly pleased with the affability and kindness of the Queen, and I talked to her as freely as to any other lady. She is a capital Churchwoman, taking a great interest in the Hampden question; and has told the Consul here that if the Chaplain is turned out and another thrust in without the Bishop's license, she will be very sorry, as it will prevent her attending church. She came to the Confirmation to-day; I had seventeen candidates. You would have been infinitely amused if you could have seen our cavalcade yesterday going to dine with the Queen—first Mrs. Lowe in a palanquin, then Sophy ditto, then a torch-bearer, then I in buckles and knees, etc., on a rough pony, then Mr. Lowe ditto, then Douglas ditto! It was a most picturesque procession as it wound along the narrow steep lanes. I am to preach to-morrow, and afterwards embark. I should have been glad of a little more time to have seen the beauties of the island, but am thankful for what I have seen, and glad if I have done anything towards the promotion of peace here, or the good of the Church. I have had a very efficient supporter in all my attempts in the Queen's chaplain, who is a right-minded, sensible man. And now I must go to bed."

In another letter, written on board ship (Jan. 3d, 1848), Bishop Gray continues the account of his brief stay at Funchal, which he calls a painfully exciting visit, owing to the unhappy divisions which took up all his time and thoughts. After again mentioning Queen Adelaide's kindness to him, and the vivid interest she took in Church matters, he goes on to speak of "the religious disputes which occupied me all the rest of the day, and which gave me a nervous headache. I was to have met the leading opponents as well as friends of the Chaplain's, but the opponents declined coming, on the ground that it was too late to talk of reconciliation, and that another Chaplain had been appointed. The Chaplain's supporters consist of the chief resident merchants in the island, and they showed a most conciliatory spirit, and a readiness to do anything that I should recommend. I could only recommend moderation, kindness, charity. Finding that nothing effectual could be done without I saw the opposite party, I offered to call upon them, accompanied by the Consul and Queen's Chaplain. I did so, but they were out. Two of them, however, at my request, came to meet me at the hotel, where I spent a couple of hours pleading with them for Christian union, I fear to little purpose. I was quite plain with them, but spoke affectionately. They confessed to me that it was wrong and sinful to break communion as they had done, and that the question had now resolved itself almost entirely into a personal one; yet I could not induce them to pledge themselves to alter their conduct, but only to think over it. I tried every argument I could think of, and I hope in a Christian spirit and in patience, but I fear without much effect. Of this, however, I am satisfied, that the *Christianity* of the place is with Mr. Lowe and his friends. I observed amongst them many signs of religion which I could not perceive in those opposed to them, and he is a really humble-minded, earnest Christian minister. How things have got to their present state I know not. There may have been a lack of judgment formerly, but there seems at present to me nothing but sorrow and self-abasement before God, and Christian kindness towards those who differ. After my interview, I spent the greater part of the night in writing. . . . I had prepared a sermon on Christian unity, 'Holy Father, keep through Thine Own Name,' etc.; but after all I saw I thought they could not bear it, so I worked up a sermon on Christian charity (S. John xiii. 34, 35), 'A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another,' etc., towards the close of which I brought the whole subject to bear upon their sad condition. During the delivery of this my feelings got the better of me, and I was affected even to tears. I could not help myself; many things contributed to overcome me, the whole subject had been in my mind so completely for the last few days. They were last words. I had clearly before me the wretched state they were in, and the almost certain prospect of an open and avowed schism, and I had been up, too, most of the night. I felt greatly ashamed of my own weakness, but I really think it made people feel that one regarded their position as an awful one, for though I could not see any one, several appeared to me to be a good deal affected, and we had near a hundred communicants.

"After service we went to luncheon with the Vernon Harcourts, and returned to afternoon prayers. Immediately these were over we proceeded to embark, and here, by a spontaneous move, a great portion of the congregation followed us, and requested permission to accompany us to the beach. And so I proceeded through the town, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, at the head of a great concourse of clergy and merchants with their wives and families, who thronged the narrow streets. As I was stepping into my boat the last of our party, they asked for my blessing; all uncovered, some knelt on the beach while I implored the Divine Blessing. The Portuguese around us seemed impressed, and there were a great many near, and on a jetty at a little distance; they uncovered themselves, and some few knelt. We pushed off amidst the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and kind expressions. The Queen's Chaplain followed us in a boat with the Harcourts. That moment amply rewarded me for having given up myself, while in the Island, to the restoration of peace and unity; and I believe it was meant as an expression of their gratitude and regard. I fear, however, matters have gone so far that there is no great prospect of a reconciliation, but Mr. Hudson, who was with me in all my interviews, thinks the case not hopeless. One or two parties sent me money for my Diocese, and I believe others have expressed a desire to help me in my work; I have not, however, spoken to any one a word about my own work, so entirely were my thoughts occupied with other matters. I retired to my bed soon, quite worn out with the work and excitement of the day; and here I am, at the close of the next, writing quietly to you in a lovely calm night, giving minute details, because I believe you will all like to hear everything that has passed."

It may be as well, while on the subject of the Madeira discussions, to look into a letter of May 2nd, 1848, in which the Bishop says: "I find my expressions, or supposed expressions, used at Madeira, are being brought into the struggle going on there, and Mr. K. Brown, who has got the chaplaincy and the chapel from Lord Palmerston, but who has not got the Bishop of London's license, has written to me (though I have only got a second letter from him to say he has written). The point seems to be this, for I have not sufficient data before me to know what it really is. But at the public meeting there, some of the gentlemen asked me what, as Christians and Churchmen, they ought to do, if Lord Palmerston sent them out a chaplain who got possession of the chapel but had no license from the Bishop, while Mr. Lowe remained officiating in a hired room with the Bishop's license? My reply was that it was their duty to communicate only with him who had the Bishop's license; that the possession of the building was no real element in the matter; that Christians might again be compelled, like primitive Christians, to worship in dens and caves of the earth; that I thought any clergyman coming under the circumstances they described, and setting up altar against altar, would be guilty of schism, and that no Churchman could, with a safe conscience, communicate with him. This was the substance of my answer, and this will again be my declaration to Mr. K. Brown, if he courts the expression of my opinion."

Two letters almost immediately after this reached Bishop Gray, in which Mr. K. Brown accused the Bishop of having virtually excommunicated him, and requested him to write to the newspaper and contradict what he was asserted to have said. Mr. Brown also stated that among those who adhered to the English chaplain appointed by the Bishop of London, Bishop Gray's name was "in some way or other alleged as a sanction to their proceedings;" adding that probably this was not true, "but since it is so very desirable to win them back to a sense of their duty, I request your Lordship to assist me in my endeavour to do so, and restore peace by a disavowal of any such encouragement."

The Bishop's reply is remarkable from its exceedingly plain straightforward assertion of what he felt to be the truth due to the Church.

"Cape Town, May 3rd, 1848.

"Reverend Sir—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of February 20th and March 4th, the latter of which I received two days ago, and the former to-day. With reference to the paragraph in the *Guardian*, I have only to observe that I am not responsible for what appears in that paper, having no communication with it; and that I believe I did not use the expression which it imputes to me, and am even doubtful whether I knew for certain, when the meeting to which allusion is made was held; that another clergyman was coming out, or if so what his name was. But, so far as I can at this distance of time recollect, I was asked publicly by a gentleman at that meeting, what would be the duty of the members of the Church of England in the Island of Madeira, should Lord Palmerston send out a clergyman to supersede Mr. Lowe, the Bishop of London (who exercises the spiritual oversight of our communion there with the consent of the Church) refusing to withdraw his license from Mr. Lowe, or to give it to Lord Palmerston's nominee? To this question I gave the only reply which a Bishop of the Church of England could give; that I considered it was the duty of every member of the Church of England in the Island to communicate with him, and him only, who had the Bishop's license; that it would be an act of schism to communicate with any other. I may have added, though I am uncertain whether I did, that I could not conceive it possible that any clergyman of the Church would venture to come out without that license, for that if he did he would find very great difficulty in being admitted hereafter to any Diocese in England. I am exceedingly sorry to say what

I know must be painful to you, but you have courted the expression of my opinions, and faithfulness to the Church requires that I should speak the plain truth. If you and those who communicate with you are not in schism, I do not know what schism is. The Church does not consist, as in your letter to me you assume, in the possession of the material fabric, or in a stipend from Government, or in an appointment from Lord Palmerston. These are mere accidental appendages and can never constitute the Church. There is wanting a faithful body under a ministry lawfully appointed and sent by those who have authority into the Lord's vineyard; whereas your mission is in utter defiance of the authority of your Bishop.

"Having said thus much in reply to your letter, I must decline interfering any further in the affairs of the Church in Madeira. I only took part in them while there as the Bishop of London's representative, and at his request. Trusting that you may be brought to see the very serious error you have committed, and may speedily return to your duty to the Church, I remain, Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

"The Reverend T. K. Brown, Madeira. R. CAPETOWN."

To Mr. Lowe the Bishop wrote in words of sympathy and encouragement, which set forth forcibly his own strong convictions that nothing but the firm assertion of sound Church principles could save his country from the overwhelming tide of Erastianism which threatened to drown her. "I feel," he says, "that you have much to console you in the faithfulness with which, under outwardly disadvantageous circumstances, so many cling to the cause of truth and order—in a word, to the Church of their fathers; and also in the fact that yours is just one of those cases which compel the members of the Church to consider what is the nature and constitution of the Church, and to fall back upon first principles. I cannot but hope that the result of this and other contests will in the end prove beneficial to the Church. . . . We have our troubles and anxieties here, but I can say with thankfulness that our consolations are more abundant than our trials. I do hope that, now you are confronted by an open schism, which arrogates to itself the name of the Church, and has the countenance and support of this world, that the Christian spirit, and zeal for God, and patience and meekness and gentleness of the true Church will be so visible to all, that those who oppose themselves will be compelled to confess that God is with you of a truth. There is much in your present position to exasperate the minds of yourself and people, and to lead you to cherish bitter and unkind feelings against your oppressors: may the God of all grace, however, in the midst of it all, enable you to love your enemies, to bless them which curse you, and to pray for them which despitefully use you. My poor prayers have been and will continue to be offered up for the peace of the Church in Madeira."

In a note also to Mr. Lowe, written May 17th, the Bishop says, "I do not wonder at laymen being misled in these lax days, but I am astonished that any clergyman should think it right to communicate with a Priest receiving mission from Lord Palmerston rather than one receiving mission from the Bishop."

When writing from St. Helena (March 30th), Bishop Gray mentions that Mr. Lowe had asked leave to publish his letters, telling him that the Bishop of London had already done so with one to himself. Bishop Gray refers to the hurry in which he had written, sitting up most of the last night he spent in Madeira in order to write, and keeping no copy of what he wrote, so that he referred to Dr. Williamson as to whether his letters to Mr. Lowe ought to be published. "If they will do good to the Church's cause" (the Bishop says, with his characteristic absence of self-interest, and devotion to that cause), "as he thinks and says that several of the Bishops think to whom he has shown them, I am quite willing, though I hate to be brought forward in this matter more than can be helped. I do not, however, wish my own feelings to be consulted in this or any other matter where the interests of the Church are at stake. He seems to have shown my letters freely to all, from the Archbishop downwards. Mowbray perhaps may be able to say whether it would be well to publish them."

The voyage continued prosperously, although the party never became good sailors; the Bishop was the best, and yet from time to time even he had to absent himself from meals, etc., through squeamishness. As a boy of seventeen he had said the Church prayers on board ship, returning from the West Indies, little thinking that the next time he so officiated it would be as a Bishop. He describes their service thus:—

"Last Sunday we had the ship, as the Captain says, rigged out for Church. The capstan, with the Union Jack over it, was reading-desk and pulpit, the sailors ranged on each side on boards fixed upon buckets, and the passengers in front and in the cuddy. We have not a black sheep among our passengers, and they all punctually attend morning and evening Prayers, and our Captain is a very right-minded respectable man, and never absents himself. I like, too, all I see of my candidates. Badnall is going to begin, now that they are well, a thorough study of the Epistle to the Romans. I keep them to four hours' work, and then let them read general works. We employ them, too, in sermons or essays upon texts of Scripture. My own reading goes on very well, and I expect to get through a very great deal before we arrive at the Cape, which we expect to do by the middle of February. The children get on very well, and are an amusement to the passengers, who are very kind to them. I begin my day, now that we are well, in catechising Louisa and Charlie."

The hope of accomplishing a great deal of reading (an enjoyment which henceforth was to be of very rare occurrence, sheer hard work absorbing the Bishop's time so wholly as it did) came to little, through a return of inflammation in his eyes, which made him entirely dependent on being read aloud to, an office which his wife performed indefatigably; but now we find no more interesting comments on the books that came in, and he had but little opportunity of studying even those he most wished to read. The last letter written on board ship is dated February 18, 1848, in which he says: "Our daily life has flowed in the same line—study, exercise, meals; and our passengers have continued as they began, very accommodating and regular in their attendance on our service. The weakness of my eyes (now much better) has given me more time for meditation, and I trust in this respect my wearisome voyage may have been of use to me. It is a very great comfort to think how many there are in England who take an interest in our Mission, and do not forget us in their prayers. I feel increasingly my need of their continued intercessions. We often think of you all, and do not forget you in our prayers."

The Diocese of the Cape of Good Hope, of which Bishop Gray was henceforward to be the devoted Bishop, is of an extent of some 600 miles from east to west, and 330 miles from north to south, comprising an area of about 200,000 square miles, with a sea coast of upwards of 1,200 miles from the Gariep or Orange River on the western or Atlantic shore, to the Keiskamma on the eastern or Indian Ocean coast—these two rivers forming its boundaries, the latter on the east, the former on the north.

The Cape was discovered in 1487 by Diaz, who gave it the name of Cabo dos Tormentos, in consequence of the stormy weather he encountered there. In 1795 the British Government resolved to take possession of the Colony for the Prince of Orange, and it remained in our possession until the Peace of Amiens, when it was restored to the Dutch nominally, but really to the French, who practically absorbed it. On the renewal of war with France, the English Government wisely determined to re-capture the Cape of Good Hope;—Sir David Baird and Sir Horne Popham were sent there with a force of 5,000 men in January 1806, and the English and Dutch armies met on the plain at the foot of Table Mountain, but almost immediately the Dutch retreated, and offered terms of surrender.

In 1845 the population of the city of Cape Town was over 20,000, of whom upwards of 10,000 were white, being chiefly Dutch. Slaves (now apprenticed labourers) form the largest class in the Colony—their numbers being reckoned at 35,000. These may be divided into three classes—the Malays from the Indian Archipelago, generally the best workmen, the African negro, and the Mozambique or Malagash negro—classes which keep entirely clear of one another. The Malays are chiefly Mahomedans; many of the others have become at all events nominal Christians, and are called the Coloured Christians. The Hottentots, who were the original inhabitants, have dwindled greatly in number and in importance. They are divided into several varieties: the Koras or Korannas, nomad tribes chiefly dwelling on the banks of the Orange River; the Bosjemans, the Namaquas, and Dameras. On the northern frontier a race called the Griquas, or Bastaards, has increased rapidly; and the Kafirs, or Amakosæ, are found along the eastern frontier. *Kafir* is a term of reproach signifying infidel, and affixed by the Moors to the people who would not embrace Mahometanism. They are supposed to be descended from the Bedouin Arabs. In the interior, some three hundred miles north of the Orange River, we find the Bechuana tribes, who are of a higher order than any of those already mentioned.

The government consisted of a Governor and Executive Council, and, as will be seen from Bishop Gray's letters, the religious state of the Colony was as neglected and hopeless as could well be. The feeble branch of the English Church existing there was nominally under the care of the Bishop of Calcutta. Every form of dissent and Protestantism throve and held a better position than the Church at the time of Bishop Gray's appointment; and the condition of his Diocese, and the work imperative on a true-hearted Churchman, were assuredly enough to break most men down, unless indeed they possessed the deep faith, warm love, rare gifts, and indomitable energy of him who, by God's Providence, was now sent to be the first Bishop of that southern land. Even he, as we shall see, often quailed beneath the pressure, well-nigh too heavy for human strength. Nor was it *human* strength which bore him through, but supernatural grace which led to the utterly changed state of things before that noble Bishop entered upon his rest. None so ready as himself to say, "Not I, but the Grace of God which was with me."

On Sunday, February 20th, 1848, Bishop Gray and his wife and four children landed in Africa, the land for which the whole energies of both their lives were to be spent, and where both have found their grave. He tells of the landing with his usual simplicity.

"*February* 22*nd.*—We landed on Sunday. I had service for the passengers in the morning on board, and landed in the afternoon with Sophy and Douglas. Mr. Montagu, Colonial Secretary, came off to the ship to take me on shore, and told me I should be inundated with visitors if I did not land. I declined a salute, it being Sunday, and Douglas read prayers in the Cathedral in the evening, where there was a tolerable congregation. S. George's is decidedly (though of Italian architecture) the best ecclesiastical building in the town;—the far-famed Roman Catholic is a tolerably sized chapel in the Compo style, stuccoed, and would-be Gothic. Church matters are in a very bad state. I am told there is a party ripe for anything, and full of suspicions and jealousies. The Baptismal Regeneration controversy is raging, and the pulpit of the Cathedral has been employed as a vehicle for proclaiming Evangelical Alliance men's pamphlets against that doctrine of the Church. I feel the great need there is of judgment, prudence, and forbearance, and how much I shall need all your hearty prayers in a very delicate and trying position. We are agreeably surprised with the town and the magnificent mountains. I am not likely to have much time to myself, for I am inundated with visitors, who take up all the time we are indoors. Yesterday we drove out early to look at houses. Mr. Frere has taken one for two months at four miles from town, £180 rent per annum: it was the country residence of an ex-Governor;—but I think we shall go by 1st April to Protea[1] (where the Coles lived), which we admire more than any place, and which is to be let for £150. It is seven miles off, and not a very good road, but a sweet place, and in good order. I think it likely I shall want several more clergymen for the territory taken from the Kafirs, but I shall know more in another month, so pray let all look out for good men. Sir H. Smith will be here in a fortnight. I saw Lady Smith yesterday; the dissenters have been attacking her in print as a worldly woman. . . . I have much to write, and no time except before breakfast."

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[1] Subsequently called Bishopscourt.

No descriptions can give so living a picture of the Bishop's new country, his life and absorbing interests, as his own letters give, written in the freedom of intercourse with those he loved so well in England.

To the Rev. Charles GRAY.

"Cape Town, March 1st, 1848.

"My dear Charles—Having a spare hour, I sit down to write to you, though what to tell you of all I hear and see I scarce know. I am still in the town (or rather city), as you will see. The house Mr. Frere took for us (at £200 a year) was so full of bugs and fleas, and so dilapidated and dirty, that after the children and servants had been there a day or two, we asked to be let off our bargain, and the parties consented. The rent, if put in repair, would have been £225; the house was a dull and bad one, but the situation beautiful. It might have let for £50 in England. We are going to-day to Wynberg, Mr. Frere, who is gone to the sea, having kindly lent us his house, and we have taken from the 1st of April, Protea, where the Coles lived in summer when their father was Governor. We pay £150 a year, and if we take the cottage and garden next year somewhat more. This is the cheapest place we have seen, and the most beautiful, and there is an excellent house. We are very fortunate in being able to secure it; compared with other places, its rent ought to be £350 or £400. But it is seven miles from town, and that prevents its being let; the road is rather hilly, and it is said to be damp in winter. We have taken it for one year, with a lease if we like it. I have had some scruple in getting into so grand a place, but it seems quite cut out for me. If we take the whole, there will be thirty-three rooms, and about sixteen of them admirably suited for pupils. It is the very thing for a College, and I might, I believe, purchase the whole for £4,000, including 300 acres of land, not cultivated but very good. It lies, too, very central for the different churches in the district. My only difficulty will be respecting the duty at the Cathedral, and especially when the south-easters blow.

"All our time hitherto has been spent in receiving and returning calls. I think more than 200 have already called. Sir Harry Smith is to return to-day; every-one seems astonished at his rapid movements and success, and all admire him greatly. The Kafirs all gave in as soon as he was governor. He has brought the Boers to submit to our Government, and he does what he likes with every one;—he made all the Kafir Chiefs kiss his toe. But I do not profess to understand yet what has been done, for I think of nothing but ecclesiastical matters.

"As to our Church here, the only two Clergy belong to a little Evangelical Alliance, and one holds prayer-meetings in school; the other officiates in a school at Green Point, turn-about with dissenters. In the Cathedral, last Sunday, a school was taught with an American catechism, wherein the definition of a Sacrament was in total contradiction to that of our own Catechism. The congregation at the Cathedral are much dissatisfied with Mr. . . . who is a very extreme (and I hear a very inefficient man), and I have been appealed to to interfere at once on several points; which I have declined to do, choosing to take time for everything. There is a debt of £7,500 upon the church, which the shareholders (who have before now increased their dividends out of the Sacrament money) want the Government to purchase, but this is a very doubtful point. There are, however, some good points. Each church has a weekly collection at the doors, which does not produce much. People all feel that a third church entirely free is wanted, and thus I shall probably have to begin sooner than I expected the chancel of a Cathedral church which would be used for some years as a church; building is very bad and very dear: I should think a new church could not be begun under £10,000.

"Hitherto I have got on very well with . . . and . . . but I am now going to begin daily prayers on Ash-Wednesday, and shall be anxious to know how the announcement will be received. Lent does not seem to be observed here, and there are no services at the Cathedral except on Sunday. B . . . has a Thursday evening lecture, badly attended. Both clergy live at Green Point, full three miles from their churches. We have not one clergyman in the town, though the ministers of all other bodies live there. The School of Industry is a nice school, managed by ladies; children very well instructed in religion, not so with secular knowledge. The boys' school has not forty boys; in Sunday-school we may have 150, while various classes of dissenters have from 200 to 300 in theirs. Last Sunday I preached to a crowded congregation; there was a great string of carriages. I took the subject of Episcopacy—the Scripture argument, duties, and responsibilities; spoke of neglect of this Colony, her life in the English Church; appealed to people for their prayers and support; spoke of missions, for I suspect before long I shall have to start a mission for Kafirs. I should not wonder if Sir H. Smith offered assistance; if so, I shall accept of every offer, and look to our Mother Church for men and money. Pray keep a good look-out for men; of course, I cannot say at the end of a week what I shall want, but I think I may want a good many more before very long. Now, as to other religious bodies, they are all in some confusion. If we can only keep our Church in peace and unity, and at the same time let it be seen that we are anxious to do the work of God without attacking others, I believe in time they will seek rest in our fold. The Dutch Reformed seem a respectable but not very lively body. I like their chief minister, Mr. Faure, here. We have had one or two friendly visits; but they are very sore, divisions having been introduced into their parishes by a set of men sent out by Christian Instruction Society, and ordained (?) by a Mr. Stegman, who has seceded from the Lutherans, and a Dr. Adamson, head of South African College, who has left the Scotch Kirk, then the Free Kirk, and has now set up for himself! This is one of the ablest men in the Colony, and he being intimate with leading men, has got Government to pay his emissaries, much to the disgust of Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, Scotchmen, etc. They are working necessarily among the coloured population in this town. I have had a good deal of conversation with Dr.

Adamson. When I asked him what he was, he said he didn't quite know; he wished to act with all. I suspect the Protestant bodies would be very glad if I would take up the question of a nondescript body like that receiving Government support, and perhaps I may.

"An elder of the Lutheran Church has requested leave to come to me this morning, to talk over the affairs of his connection. Then the Independents are quarrelling vehemently among themselves, some siding with Dr. Philip and some against; and the Free Kirk and Kirk are furious, and I understand the Methodists are divided. May God save His Church from being so. I fear the expense of living will be greater here than I expected, and certainly travelling will be ruinous if the Government do not pay for me. The circuit of a puisne judge costs £1,000. Probably I shall travel more economically, but I shall have a much wider field to go over. I mean to ask the Government to make me a fixed allowance for this purpose. I shall ask for a stipend for an Archdeacon and a Chaplain to Natal. I see several openings, and I believe I shall get some help from Government.

"The country round is very beautiful. Our Protea is situated in a very retired spot, just under the mountain, with very nice grounds, and a garden full of grapes, melons of all kinds, peaches, apricots, figs, pears, apples, oranges, pomegranates, quinces, and an abundance of vegetables; indeed, the fruits are most abundant. The peaches are not very good, and perhaps none are quite equal to our best English fruits. The whole country will shortly be covered with most beautiful flowers. The country is quite overrun with myrtles, heaths, and a great variety of bulbous plants. The Dutch do not seem to have much energy: I am told that the Protea estate is good rich land—there are 300 acres—and yet they only keep a few cows and horses on it, and grow some potatoes, and the only produce sold is firewood and potatoes. Labour is very dear, and no one works as they do in England. On Protea estate the proprietor has imported twenty-five families, I believe, of released slaves, taken by our cruisers. These are allowed to build themselves mud cottages and cultivate a patch for potatoes, and for this they work four days in a month. I shall be very thankful to be settled there, for here I scarce ever have a quiet moment, and we are living at a great expense. All are tolerably well; Sophy not strong, nor I quite what I should wish. You would be amused if you could see and hear all the strange things that are brought before me. There is too much to do and to interest, which prevents one being much cast down at the state things are in. I see gleamings of hope here and there. We shall need your daily intercessions, as you have ours. . . . I think my first work must be among the Mahometans in this town. A man for this work must understand Arabic, and be able to learn Malay and Dutch. Beg Richard to inquire for such a man, but not engage him till he hears from me. Stipend, £200. Cannot Cambridge give me a man?—Affectionately yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

To Miss COLE.

"Wynberg, March 29th, 1848.

". . . We are just about to move into Protea, which is the cheapest place we could find, and is in my eyes infinitely preferable to any other I have seen. The place is not in the order in which it was in your day, but still it is not in bad order, and a little work at the garden will make it all we could wish. I shall probably some of these days turn the cottage into students' rooms, and have a theological college there. . . . Your father's study will be my study, the room on the right hand of the entrance-hall our library, on the left our private chapel. Since your time a great many Mozambiques, liberated Africans, have been settled on this and the adjoining properties, and we hope to have a school for them, and to seek their conversion. . . . You will be pleased to hear that Sir Harry and Lady Smith are kindness itself. Nothing can be more considerate or more warm-hearted than they are. I already feel an attachment to him, and am much struck with the religious turn which his mind takes upon viewing any object. He is not, perhaps, much of a theologian, but I am sure he is devout. I trust I may have opportunities of seeing them both from time to time, and talking of religious subjects. He will help the Church in every way he can."

To Mrs. Mowbray.

"Wynberg, March 11th, 1848.

. . . "Things are now, as you may suppose, in a very disorderly state. The Junior Chaplain of the Cathedral, shortly before my arrival, introduced a book of hymns into St. George's, which gave great offence to the more sober churchmen, and last Sunday he stuck a public notice on the Cathedral door, of the usual monthly prayer-meeting in the church schools. He and the other clergyman are members of a little Evangelical Alliance. In this parish I went with the chaplain into the Infant School, kept by the clerk. On asking what religious instruction was given, I was told, "I teach no Christian doctrine; I base all my teaching on morality." He was forbidden to teach any Christian truth, and was even told it was infringing rules to teach the children to pray. In the Boys' Government School, the master is a Presbyterian—children, chiefly Church and Methodist. Not wishing to give offence, he did not teach the Church Catechism, but he drew up one for himself, which he printed. It is full of contradictions to the teaching of the Church. In the Girls' School, founded and supported by the Church, part of the catechism is omitted, not to offend the Methodists . . . and so I might go on describing the state of things. Yet am I full of hope: I think I see much prospect of doing good, and remedying many matters. But it is early days to speak. I am now aiming at getting all the churches now under trustees, and proprietary chapels, vested in myself. And I think I have got hold of ——'s, which the Colonial Church Society looked upon as their own. There seems a great disposition on all sides to consult my wishes and defer to my authority, and I have deputations daily, and our list of visitors lengthens every day. To-day I have been asked to draw up a scheme for freeing the Cathedral Church, which is at present a joint-stock company, in which some of the proprietors are Jews and Atheists. The mortgage upon it is £7,000, perhaps £3,000 would free it. Almost every church in the Colony is in some measure in the same state. There must be a third church in Capetown, and if I cannot free S. George's altogether, I shall try the chancel of a Cathedral. There is some prospect, I hope, of my getting additional grants from the Colonial Legislature. I am going to ask for £600 a year for additional clergy, and endowment for an Archdeacon, and, tell Edward, an annual grant for myself. All this will be settled in May. Sir H. Smith has, at my request, fixed on the Feast of the Annunciation as a day of general thanksgiving for the restoration of peace, and I have drawn up forms of prayer, like our English ones, for the occasion, in a great hurry. I have ordered at the same time a collection in all churches for the commencement of a Mission Fund to the Kafirs. We have begun, too, daily prayers with Lent, and have a congregation of forty, which I consider very good. I shall hope to continue them. . . Pray let Charles know that it so falls out that I am going to promote both the Colonial Church Society men;—I trust this may propitiate a certain party here, and it will in many ways help the Church cause. I think I shall want at least two more good hard-working curates, and shall, I hope, be able to give them £200 a year each. Nothing can be kinder than the Smiths. They beg we will make Government House our hotel, and press us to dine, which, however, we hope to avoid all Lent. I have written all about myself and my work, but I know you would like to hear what is going on. Sophy suffers rather from the heat . . the children are well and happy, and delighted with the country."

To Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Wynberg, March 20th, 1848. . . . All the men I have engaged are provided for, and I save something upon almost all of them, which enables me to write for a few more to fill up posts yet vacant. I want two Clergymen, one Curate to the Cathedral Church, at a salary of £200 a year.

He should be a hard-working Curate, taking an interest in schools. When you have found him, it will be necessary, as my commissary, to recommend him to Earl Grey as *Assistant Chaplain*, and receive £150 for passage and outfit. The other may be wanted for the Knysna, or to be a Missionary to the Mahomedans in Cape Town, a most important and interesting field. I can only offer them £50 each for passage. Then I want four good men who shall be prepared to act as masters and catechists until I ordain them. These will have £35 passage-money; income, £80 certain, perhaps £100, not improbable £180, but this quite uncertain. These catechists must be prepared to live for six months with me before going to their work, with only an allowance for washing and clothes. I have no doubt that I shall be able to employ this style of man to almost any amount. They must all apply themselves to Dutch diligently—some of them may be wanted to take charge of the convicts. . . . I have been thinking that Mr. Douglas, Curate to Mr. Walpole at Alverstoke, would do capitally for the Mahometans if he would come. . . . It is impossible for me to tell you what our prospects are, but I think I see that a great deal may be done. There is, however, an overwhelming arrear of confusion and disorder to dispose of. Nothing can be kinder than Sir H. Smith, and all the Church people are kind. The Dutch paper has commenced a fierce assault upon me for language which I never spoke at meetings in England. The two Faures, leading ministers and very respectable men, defend me. I do not see my way at all clearly through the education question; it will open out, however, before I can act. I have made some important changes. . . . Mr. ——— goes to Wynberg, an important parish utterly neglected and overrun by East India visitors, who, with long purses and pious purposes, are the pest of the place. I caught one of them praying extempore in the church here last Sunday. . . . The low element will be weakly represented in Cape Town; the result is, all parties are pleased—the low grateful. I have prescribed my own rules, and have got hold of . . . Church, which the Colonial Church Society thought would always be in their hands. It is now being conveyed to me, and will be fit for consecration, for I have secured the whole pew-rents as a fund to liquidate the debt upon it of £1,700. I have proposed a plan, too, to the Vestry of S. George's, for liquidating a debt upon that Church of £7,000, which will, I hope, succeed. The church at Wynberg, too, is to be enlarged, and a new one built at Rondebosch, which will perhaps cost £5,000. My plan for raising funds is this:—First, get all the free subscriptions possible. Then appropriate (not give a property, but assign) sittings to certain houses for ever, at a certain fixed rate per sitting—£10, £12, or £14. The parties have a right to occupy them for ever, but no right to lock up, sell, or let. If they do not attend church, but become dissenters, churchwardens to re-appropriate. By this means I hope large sums may be realised, and no principle given up. But the churches are corporate, or Church property, as our parish churches in England. One work before me is to define parishes, and give vestries, and appoint churchwardens. Cape Town will be divided first into three parishes. Douglas is to have a parish, and build his own church and schools. . . . Our Lent congregations continue good. . . . The Roman Bishop here has recently consecrated, *by himself*, a Bishop for the Eastern Province. . . . I think of starting for the East about September 1st, and expect to be absent from four to six months, as I mean to go into every nook and corner of the Diocese, and shall be both at Natal and Kaffraria."

To William Gray, Esq.

"Cape Town, March 29th, 1848.

. . . "We like the country and the climate very much, though the dust and heat have hitherto been very oppressive, and I like what I have seen of the people. I find, as might have been imagined, everything relating to religion, whether in the Church or out of it, in confusion and disorder; and principles are admitted and acted upon, and plans have been adopted, which I am persuaded might have been averted had a Bishop been here from the beginning. The whole question of education (a very difficult and delicate one) is decided against the Church, and the country is covered with schools and Scotch masters at large salaries, though many more are wanted. I do not despair of making some alterations in the system, when I can speak with confidence on the subject, which will only be after I have visited and examined them all. My policy at present, however, is clearly to turn the existing system to as good account as possible, without committing myself to it, and this I am endeavouring to do. . . I do not see my way yet at all clearly as to the education of the higher orders in Cape Town, but something must be done. At present all that I am doing is training men for Holy Orders, under my own roof. . . . I am most fortunate in our Governor; he and Lady Smith are most kind and attentive, and he is a really good Christian man. We are already intimate, and he talks quite confidentially with me; he finds it impossible to make a friend of any public man, as all are so sensitive and jealous of attention being paid to one more than another. He and Montagu, the Colonial Secretary (a very able and influential man), will do all they can for the Church quietly. Sir Harry Smith is quite the idol of the Colony at present. In fifty-eight days he has settled Kaffraria; quieted, for the time at least, the Boers, and dismissed half the troops. His progress in the Colony has been one continued triumph. I believe his success is mainly owing, under God, to the character which he earned for justice, kindness, and determination, when in the Colony ten years ago. The Kafirs are all fascinated by him now, as they were then. It remains to be seen whether his personal influence will last long enough to induce them to keep sheep and cultivate their land; these two things would fix them. At present their only riches are cattle, and these do not prevent them from leading a wandering life. I mean to go, D.V., all over Kaffraria, and through Natal if possible."

Amid all the pressure of his own responsibilities and cares, the Bishop kept up a most vivid interest in all that was going on at home, especially in Church affairs. "We are anxious to know," he writes, April 8th, 1848, "how the Hampden affair turns out, and are pained at the Bishop of Oxford's line. My prayer is that God will preserve His Church from heresy. Think of Lord John Russell writing upon Church and State!" And again: "I have not lost my interest in home affairs, and keep as sharp a look-out after Church matters, and am as deeply moved by them, as I used to be in England;" and, "I feel out of heart about the state of the Church in England. Much as I love the Bishop of Chester (Sumner), I am sorry to see him Archbishop; and one does not know whom to depend upon as a champion for the Church. But perhaps it is as well that there should be no arm of flesh upon which we might be tempted to lean."

A little later he writes: "I hope you will all rise in Bristol against the attempt of the House of Commons to settle the faith of the Church of England. It is in these points that I expect the dear good Archbishop to fail. Yet, on the whole, I cannot but be thankful that we have a holy man who loves God, and whose only desire is to do His Will, at the head of affairs."

A champion for the Church Bishop Gray certainly proved himself from the very first days of his arrival in Africa. How completely he was devoting himself to his Diocese, and how thoroughly he had grasped and mastered the details of its needs, will be seen in his first letter from the Cape to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

"Cape Town, April 11th, 1848.

"My dear Hawkins—As I have been nearly two months in this Colony, you will perhaps expect that I should give you some information respecting the actual condition and prospects of the Church. We have suffered grievously, as might have been supposed, from the long neglect which has been shown by the Mother Church towards her daughter in this distant land, and from the absence of a chief pastor who might regulate the affairs of the Church, and press its claims. But I shall confine my view at present to the great spiritual destitution which has been the result in several places which have been already brought under my notice. I have now lying before me a memorial from the district called the Knysna, in which the following statements are made, signed by many of the chief parishioners. 'The population of the district lying between the Knysna and the Fitzhamma forest numbers 1,200 souls. The part most contiguous to the nearest place of worship at George Town is distant from it about 60 miles. The population of the country lying between the Knysna and the Zwart River, embracing the Goukamma, which would be chiefly benefited by the ministrations of a clergyman, is computed at 330 more. Then the parish would comprise a congregation of about 1,500 persons, many of whom are removed nearly 100 miles from a church. From the nature of the country, intersected by deep ravines and rivers, the woods are always difficult and often impracticable, requiring large teams of cattle, and in rains great delay taking place, waiting for the subsiding of the floods, many are deterred from going to church who have not the means of transport.' And in a letter to myself, signed, like the foregoing document, by several leading parishioners, the following passage occurs: 'We would particularly bring before your Lordship's attention the barriers which intervene between us and our present parish church. We have two difficult passes and nine rivers to cross; these rivers are all dangerous and impassable in rainy weather, and form so great an obstacle that the inhabitants seldom go to church, except on occasions of baptism or marriage.' The inhabitants here are building a schoolroom for themselves, and upwards of 200 of them have already subscribed near £300 towards a church. I trust that before long I shall be able to send a clergyman to that district, and that at no distant day there will be a church and schools.

I have received applications of a very similar nature from several other parts of the Colony, and have already fixed the future destination of every one of the fourteen Clergy or Catechists whom I engaged while in England, and have written to request that six more may be sent out. Had I the means of supporting them, I have no doubt that I could dispose of a great many more; efforts being made in fifteen places to erect churches, and a great desire exists for increased church accommodation. Indeed at present there are few places in the Colony where Church schools exist. Several of those gentlemen who came out with me, or have since followed, have already gone to their respective spheres of labour, or are on the eve of going. The Rev. and Hon. H. Douglas will be fixed among the poorer population in Cape Town, and will endeavour to build a church for the sailors and our poorer brethren, who at the present time are much neglected, and are shut out from the means of grace. The church will be entirely free, with open sittings, and any contributions towards it will be thankfully received. Dr. Orpen with his wife and family has already taken his departure to one of the most distant and least inviting spots in the Colony. I was much affected by the cheerful and earnest resolution which he and his showed in entering on a work for which they will receive no earthly reward, for you are aware that he is to support himself, without any assistance from myself or any other quarter. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Steabler, and Mr. Wheeler, will almost immediately take their departure for their different fields of labour. It will be their business to itinerate incessantly amongst a very scattered population. Mr. Badnall is with me preparing candidates for the ministry, and taking charge of a district hitherto much neglected, where he has already begun to officiate in a schoolroom. There is ample field for a vast body of additional labourers, both amongst our own people and the coloured population. There are a very great number of Mahometans in and around Cape Town; their converts are made chiefly from among the liberated Africans, but occasionally also from the ranks of Christians. It is very painful to think that many of these, when they have to choose a religion for themselves, prefer Mahometanism to Christianity, although I should suppose worldly interests would induce them to decide in favour of Christianity. I do not, however, profess to understand the causes which have led and still do lead to their increase, but I shall hope hereafter to give you a fuller account of them, for I cannot but feel a deep interest in their condition, and am resolved, God helping, to make some effort for their conversion—

very little has hitherto been done for them. I need not say that I shall be thankful to receive any Clergyman into the Diocese who may be qualified for the work, and will devote himself to this special mission. . . . I have already had a general collection for missions throughout the Diocese on the day of thanksgiving for the restoration of peace, but it has not yet produced more than £100; still this is a beginning. The next point to which I would direct our Missionary efforts would be to the Kafirs. But this cannot be entered on immediately, nor indeed do I yet know what opening there would be for us amongst them.

"I am also most anxious to have a Clergyman for Cape Town and its immediate neighbourhood, who should devote the whole of his time to the coloured heathen population. There is, I think, a great field of usefulness before us among these. They show a desire to be baptized, and are very anxious to learn. Mr. Douglas has already a class of adults, chiefly from our schools, whom he is preparing for Baptism. I could say a great deal more were I not afraid of extending this letter to too great a length. Let me only in conclusion say that I trust the Church of England will feel that it owes a heavy debt to Southern Africa. There is no one of our Colonies that we have for so long a time and so entirely neglected, as the Cape of Good Hope. It is very sad to think how little has hitherto been done for it by ourselves, while other bodies of Christians have been labouring zealously in its behalf.

"It is not too much to ask, as I do most earnestly, that the means may be supplied to me which may enable me in some degree to remedy the neglect of past years. Everything has as yet to be done—churches and schools erected—Clergy, Catechists, and teachers brought out—a college founded—perhaps also a Cathedral — Missions planted; and this by a Church enfeebled through the neglect of the Mother Church for half-a-century. People here are, I believe, willing to do what they can. Applications are coming in to me from various quarters, and along with them expressions of readiness to assist to the extent of their power. But still we must be dependent, to a degree at least, for the first few years upon the liberality of friends at home. Every £60 a year I get will enable me to engage another Clergyman, and every £40 another Catechist. Fifty or one hundred pounds frequently decides the point whether a school or church can be built or not. I shall be very thankful to any friends who will collect funds for this destitute Diocese, and transmit them to the Cape Fund Committee. I shall be still more thankful to know that our feeble Church is remembered in their prayers.

"Ever, dear Hawkins, yours sincerely, R. CAPETOWN."

A letter, written almost the same day, to his brother, Mr. E. Gray, who acted as his financier, shows how great a pressure money matters were to the Bishop.

"Henceforth I do not mean to give more than £50 for passage and outfit to Clergy, and £30 to Catechists. When they arrive here I shall still have to pay for an expensive journey, and give perhaps £50 for furniture, and £20 for horse and saddle, etc. I must try to make my money go as far as possible. . . . I find one great difficulty will be in erecting churches, schools, and what are scarcely less necessary, houses. Building is very expensive, and I should be glad, if possible, to aid these. I wish also, where I cannot get them given, to purchase glebes.

"I get on capitally with the Government, and will tell you how I stand; but I do not want it talked about. The Governor has recommended a certain sum for a Chaplain at Natal—he has promised to advocate one also for the Knysna. I have got a Government situation of £200 for Davidson, who will still have time to act as my Registrar and Diocesan Secretary and legal adviser, receiving £100 a year. I have sent in an application for a grant for additional Clergy, an endowment for an Archdeaconry, and a fixed addition to my income; having first discussed the matter with the Colonial Secretary and Governor. I fix the Archdeacon's income at £400, but have left my own to them. These will be agreed upon, and put in the estimates. I hope and believe they will be carried, but it will raise a storm, and we shall still need the sanction of the Home Government. . . . I have obtained £30 a year for each of the three men who are now going to their stations. I have also got a noble site in the Government Gardens (perhaps two sites) for a college or residences for the Clergy — another for boys and Infant School close to S. George's (Cathedral); and I have an application sent in to-day for a site of a new church, which will, I doubt not, be granted, and transferred to me before another week. I could fill up two Chaplaincies to Convicts, £150 each, if I had the men; but they must talk Dutch. It is in consequence of these grants and prospects that I am enabled to order out six more men, and I shall want more after these. But I must economise every shilling, or I shall be ruined; my personal expenses are very heavy, and I must give some large subscriptions. I am most anxious to receive a financial statement from my Finance Committee, that I may know how I stand, and how much farther I may go. But go on *I must*, so tell friend Hawkins he *must* help me. Before this reaches you, I hope you will have got transferred to my Cape Fund account all that you can get from the Four Bishoprics' Fund. This is our time wherein to work, and perhaps our last chance. There will be ere long (though I only know it from confidential intercourse, and therefore it ought not to be publicly mentioned) a representative government, and then our game will be up. It is a great comfort to me to get on so well with those in authority—they meet all my wishes, and I get great strength thereby, and many little advantages. If troublesome spirits write on Church matters, their letters are returned to them, and they are told to write to me. 'English Episcopal Church' will be exchanged for 'English Church,' or 'Church of England,' in all public documents. The conveyance of all Church property to the Bishop is made, when I like it, a condition of receiving assistance from Government. A Proclamation is to be issued directing all ecclesiastical matters henceforth to be conducted through the Bishop, and not directly through the Government, thereby pledging future governments to the same course. The marriage law is to be altered, at my suggestion, and submitted to me, and a variety of other things which I cannot now name.

"What do you think of the Bishop of the English Church refusing to dine at the first Government dinner at Government House because it was Lent?"

To the Rev. N. J. MERRIMAN, Street, Glastonbury.

"Cape Town, Easter Monday, 1848.

"My dear Merriman—If I do not write to you soon, you will have left Street, yet I could have wished to have delayed another fortnight. I forget what I told you in my last, for my mind is confused with the great number of letters I have written. I must, however, make this one a business letter. First, then, as to our wants. I propose that your assistant at Graham's Town should be the Master of a Grammar School which I hope to found there. He would receive £200 (I hope from Government), £100 from our fund, and there is a school which could be transferred to him already worth £200 a year, and capable of great improvement. But there is no house, and he would want a large one for boarders and school, and rents are high. . . . I hope soon to be able to write home for one or perhaps two men for a College in Cape Town. But I am surrounded with difficulties here. There would be an endowment of £300 a year, I hope, for a Principal. I know of a good man, —— a Fellow of ——, who would come, but at present I am doubtful whether I ought not to have a graduate with high honours from Oxford or Cambridge? . . . .

"Then I must have a good, sound, discreet, earnest man for the Mahometans in Cape Town—£200 a year. I would appoint such a one immediately, though I have not raised the funds for his support, but have no fear about it. Then I want two more clergy (and I should not object to more if really earnest men) at salaries of £150 a year, and another curate for the Cathedral Church at £200. I want also four earnest catechists whom I could in course of time ordain, but without pledging myself to them, at from £80 to £100 a year. These would be employed at first, or perhaps always, as schoolmasters and ministers, combining the offices. . . . As to Missions, mine in Cape Town will, I believe, be the only Church of England Mission to the Mahometans. If the Mother Church helps me now, I can, I believe (if the Home Government does not interfere), strike a blow. But I verily believe it is our last chance. We are *now*, with my staff included, only 17 clergy to 200 ministers of all sorts. I could weep to see the havoc made, the ground lost, through past indifference and neglect. But I have great hope that we shall rise, though we shall be persecuted. I can *feel* that all regard the Church, weak as she is, with jealousy, and already they manifest their dissatisfaction at the evident stirring that is taking place within her. Indeed there is much to be thankful for. Our daily prayers during Lent (what they *will* be now I know not) have been encouraging. Our congregation has greatly increased, and seemingly is more devout. We had yesterday four services, 218 communicants, 66 more than ever communicated in the church before. And we have a great body of candidates for Confirmation, who are very promising. Yesterday we baptized, and I addressed (afternoon service), sixteen Africans, trained in our schools, or by Church people; our first fruits from the heathen. I felt deeply interested, for I believe them in the main to be quite in earnest. I hope ere long to obtain a grant for the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, which will enable me to increase your income. You cannot live properly upon £400. I think too I shall get a site for your house from Government, also for your church. But building is very expensive, and you will have to get almost all your funds from England, for the Methodists are paramount in Graham's Town, and the Church dead. You will have no church without you can raise £1,000 in England in addition to your £500. I believe there are only two clergy in the Eastern Province doing any real work. I shall probably have started on my Visitation before you arrive. But you must instantly upon arriving here send to the Colonial Office for Mr. Davidson, who will see about your luggage; then with all your tail come out to Protea,—we will house every one. I am going to hold a little Synod of the clergy in about a week, and lay before them their irregularities and the remedies, and consult them about the Church's interests. . . . We have not yet had a line from England. . . . I am pining for news from home.—Ever, dear Merriman, your affectionate friend,

"R. CAPETOWN."

To MRS. WILLIAMSON.

"Cape Town, May 2nd, 1848. . . . Our most recent occurrence was our Easter Day service. We began with an early Communion, at 8 A.M., a first attempt, 33 communicants. Morning service crowded, 185 communicants, altogether 218, 60 more than ever communicated in the church before. At 3 o'clock we had a very full congregation, when after the 2nd Lesson we baptized 16 adult Heathen. The service was most impressive. Afterwards I addressed them for half-an-hour. . . Both Douglas and I had been preparing them for ten days before—they seem much in earnest. We have about 120 for Confirmation out of S. George's alone. I have conversed with most of these, having spent the Holy Week in Cape Town partly for the services, and partly for the above purposes. We are, I hope, still prospering, D. G., though difficulties of various kinds are thickening round us. I fear I shall have to act sharply with some of the clergy in the Eastern Province. . . . Only two men seem to be doing any good. One writes me 43 close folio sheets to explain why he has not (nor has had for years) a single adult at church, and begs me to belabour the backs of his parishioners 'with my Episcopal rod.' . . . I mourn over the weak, desolate, careless, worldly state of our poor Church. Yet we have much to comfort us, and if only the Mother Church will help us with men and money for the next five years, I believe with God's Blessing a great change may be effected by means of the English Church in this community. Certainly there appear to me many encouraging symptoms, but I must have fifty men at work. Tell Richard not to be surprised if men write to him at my request. I am keeping up a very large English correspondence, which is very laborious, but will, I hope, pay. But he need not be afraid of sending me too many clergy, catechists, or schoolmasters. . . . Our place is that which we like best in all the neighbourhood—perfectly retired, and most beautiful."

To the Rev. Charles Gray.

"Cape Town, May 2nd, 1848.

"My dear Charles . . . I have a great many schemes in my head, and some will, I fear, fall to the ground, for it is impossible to take them one by one. It is really overwhelming to find what a number of things are being started. There is not a parish, scarce a district, in the Colony, from which pressing applications do not come for assistance. In Cape Town:—church to be built—£6,000—entirely for poor sailors—schools (for which I have got a grant of land), parsonage house; Greenpoint, purchase of a school; Papendorf, do.; Rondebosch, new church, £5,000, house; Wynberg, enlarge church, schools, parsonage; Simon's Town, Infant school—all these just round Cape Town. And so I might go on through the Colony. It is waking, I hope, from a long slumber, but I fear our means will fall sadly short, especially as building is *twice the cost* it is in England, and very bad.

One great scheme I have is to buy up the South African College, which is a failure, and has £400 a year from Government. I mean to make a dash at it, though I scarce expect to succeed, and shall probably excite the jealousy of the Dutch and Scotch. My proposal, however, is really a most liberal one, and so palpably for the benefit of the Colony, that I may succeed. If I do carry my point, it will be a glorious move. I am waiting till the Chief Justice returns from circuit to propose it. He has taken a great interest in it, and has some influence; and if I can gain him over to my views, and the Dutch clergy, I trust I shall succeed. If I fail, then I shall instantly commence my own college; but I wish to get the South African, that there may be no opposition; and besides, they have buildings and a sum of £3,500 formally transferred to them. I get on very well with the Dutch Clergy, and hope in a few days to get their three leading men in these parts to dine and spend the day with me. The Dutch are not active—have no energy in them—do not know how to give, or to start great works. I think we shall beat them. . . . It is unfortunate that I have been obliged to refuse the second public invitation of the Governor, which was to a ball on her Majesty's Birthday. They are very kind about these things, and say there can be no misunderstanding between us. But he, like Royalty, looks for no refusals. It is a great comfort to get on so well with them and the Colonial Secretary. Sir H. Smith does not understand Church or Education questions (and I have to watch him very narrowly, lest he commit himself, and hamper me). (I have given him Hook's Church Dictionary to study.) His great temptation is to compromise truth (not what he perhaps holds, but what the Church does) in the warmth of his heart, and desire to meet the wishes of all and agree with all. The other day he told me at luncheon that he was going to send for the Mahometan Imaums, and promise them schools. I could not say much, as there was a large party, but he frightened me. And thinking it might materially forward my schemes for the Mahometans, or impede them, I went before he could see them the next day, to talk matters over with him, when he told me that if they wished for schools, he would do nothing without me. They went in a body, and nothing is yet done. But there was a report through the city that they requested him to prevent me from beginning a mission among them—they did not care for the sects, but did not like the Church to take it in hand. The report, however, was incorrect. The whole question of education is puzzling me. I don't see my way clearly. I can't see quite the line I ought to take. Sir J. Herschell's system now costs the Colony £4,000 a year, and is sectarian to the backbone. The Church does not, I believe, get £300. In Cape Town we have £50 out of £1,600. . . . My plan now is to grumble incessantly, and get what I can for my own schemes. I mean to go into every school in my Visitation and collect facts. But with all that comes upon me daily, I unceasingly feel, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' I feel, too, that every act of mine is committing the Church, perhaps for ever, to a certain definite course. I need, as I know I have, the prayers of you all, for I am full of doubts and difficulties; and were it not that I believe that God will overrule all for the advancement of His Kingdom and Glory, I should at times sink down.—Your affectionate brother,

"R. CAPETOWN."

The question of Mahometanism was painfully pressed upon Bishop Gray by what was actually going on at that time.

"I have been very much shocked of late," he says in another letter, "at hearing that five emigrants, who have arrived from England since I have been in the Colony, have turned Mahometans; and this is not a single instance of such apostasy. I mean some of these days to get together a number of these cases, with their particular circumstances, and to send them home. I believe, however, the Mahometans are not now increasing; but the fact is surely very awful, both as showing the low standard of religion of our people in England, and the little estimation in which Christianity is held here. I cannot satisfy my mind as to the ground of these conversions. The reasons assigned for them do not seem to me to be true causes. People here do not appear to feel the awfulness of living in the midst of Satan's kingdom. I cannot but think that men's eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened, by long indifference and neglect. Pray get Mowbray, through Mr. Cornish, to inquire at Oxford for a zealous Missionary for them. He ought to know something of Arabic."

In a letter to Mrs. Mowbray, the Bishop gives rather a fuller account of their new home than the engrossing interests of his Diocese usually admitted of. "We are beginning to get quite settled in our new house," he says (May 3rd, 1848), "which is the very place of all others I should have chosen if I had had the selection. We have most charming walks, and the weather is now cooler, which enables us to enjoy them when we have time. Our great drawback is the slovenly way in which the Dutch do everything; we shall, however, I hope, soon get things into order. Yesterday Badnall, with his candidates, attempted to scale the mountains, and lost themselves in the woods, where they fell in with baboons, and I believe jackals. I hope I shall be able to try ere long to get to the Table Mountain.

"We are gradually getting a room fitted up for a private chapel. I shall make it look as ecclesiastical as possible; your handsome altar-books are in use, and benches and desks are being made. I am afraid I have not told any of you much of what meets the eye in this distant land, but there are so many graver matters to discuss that I have omitted them. Still there are some points which are singular enough. The coloured people *eat* snuff instead of snuffing it! Many of them wear straw-thatched hats, exactly like the top of a corn-stack. They drive twenty bullocks and many horses in hand, with a whip I should think thirty or forty feet long from end to end; the stick is a bamboo, and they smack it most lustily with both hands. They are all very lazy, and Europeans fall into their ways. We find geraniums and myrtles everywhere, even nearly half-way up to Table Mountain. We like what we have seen of the Dutch people; their aristocracy is in general very poor, and they scrub on in an uncomfortable way, and at little expense; indeed, all their property is generally mortgaged to its full value, and sometimes much above it."

To EDWARD GRAY, Esq.

"Cape Town, May 3rd, 1848. . . . I do hope you will send me quarterly an account of my finances, public and private. My expenses here are ruinous, and I am dunned for subscriptions to everything, as if I were Bishop of Durham! . . I shall, I hope, before long get something from Government, without which I shall run dry. Now, I want to tell you (not the public, for it would not do if it were known here, but for churchmen, and Hawkins, and S. P. G.) that, to speak as men do, the fate of the Church of England in this Colony depends upon what can be done within the next two years. Before that period is elapsed, both Governor and Colonial Secretary tell me confidentially there will be an Elective Assembly. Hitherto the Church has been put down at 10,000 souls, the whole population 200,000. I leave you to judge what must be our fate, so far as Government support is concerned, with such a constituency, unless before that time our proportions are greatly altered, and our moral weight in the country much greater than it now is; for at present, you will remember, we have done less for religion in and around this Colony than any other body of Christians, and therefore stand but low in the scale. But I believe a great change may be effected in two years, if I can be assisted from home to get all the help from Government that they are willing to give to meet private exertions. I shall have ten times the difficulty in getting grants from them at the end of two years to what I have now. I ought to have fifty zealous labourers in the field by January 1st, 1850, should I live till then. Now do not suppose I am extravagant in my views; it might, and I hope will be done. . . . Then, with a view to give strength and unity of action, courage and information to Churchmen, a newspaper must be started, for the whole press, from Cape Town to Port Natal (at least as to newspapers) is sectarian. But there is no one here except myself to take the matter in hand; and with a representative government and a hostile press we should fare badly. It is perhaps a happy thing that Government at this time feel greatly the need of a paper which shall support them, but they cannot have anything ostensibly to do with it. Montagu, however, with whom I act most cordially, will give it all the Government support, earliest information, advertisements, etc., and will, I daresay, write in it occasionally. He is making inquiries about one of the Cape Town papers, which he thinks may be purchased at a cheap rate. But we shall want an editor—a good Churchman. At first I think Montagu and Davidson, and one or two more, would carry it on; and at the end of a few months, when we see how it pays, I shall probably write to you about engaging an editor. . . . We all think it quite essential, and I fear I shall have to bear the chief brunt, though it is quite possible that it may pay. Young Montagu and Davidson, too, are thinking of starting a monthly religious periodical, with my sanction but at their own cost.

"Were it not that there is so very much to be done, and done all at once, I should enjoy myself in this beautiful spot; but my brain is almost bursting at times with the multiplicity of things that are daily forcing themselves upon me, and the anxiety consequent upon them, and the smallness of my means, and my own unfitness for much of the work assigned me. However, I sought it not, and I trust as my day is so shall my strength be. I wish I could show you the noble hills which I look upon just before my window—the lawn, and oak trees, and rushing stream; and on my right, stretching out for twenty-five miles to Hottentot Hollands, where there is another magnificent range. I have written to you *currente calamo*, and, like all my epistles, without stopping to think or correct anything."

After reading these letters, which show the amount of work anxiety, and pressing responsibility, which, as the Bishop says made his brain seem almost bursting at times, no one can be surprised that a severe illness followed. During the first week in May, shortly after writing the letters just quoted, the Bishop was suddenly seized while in bed with intense pain in the head, which the doctor called rheumatism, or tic-douleureux in the brain.[1] At the end of a week or ten days he was better, though still "full of discomfort and pain," as he said in a letter dated Protea, May 20th, in which he tried to prevent his sister from anxiety on his behalf, writing with keen interest about the French Revolution, tidings of which had just reached him; and speaking of the Synod, to which he had invited all his Clergy in a few days' time; as also about a person who had been sent out to him with promising recommendations, but had proved "a perfect blackguard." Whereupon he dilates on the cruelty of sending such persons "to our poor, crippled, afflicted Church—violent abuse of Rome seems enough to make a man a saint with some people." Although still suffering pain, the Bishop considered himself decidedly better, and rode in to Cape Town to go to service and attend a meeting concerning a new church; but, when about three miles from the town, the pain came on acutely, and its very intensity threw him into a violent perspiration, while a cutting south-east wind pierced him through and through. By the time he reached Cape Town the Bishop could barely sit his horse or get into the vestry, and when Dr. Bickersteth (the medical man who attended him, a nephew of Mr. E. Bickersteth, well known in the religious world), was brought, he found his patient in a state of great exhaustion. After a time, however, the Bishop got back to his home, and seemed gradually recovering under the effects of quinine; but twice in succession the pain came on with such suddenness and violence as to cause him to faint. After this Dr. Bickersteth moved the Bishop to his own house in Cape Town, where he remained more than a fortnight before he was able to do anything or to move. Further advice was also eventually called in.

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[1] Mrs. Gray says, in a letter to England: "Every one agrees that Robert's illness is very much owing to fatigue and over-work for the last year, which has disordered his constitution, and made him more likely to take any illness and more difficult to cure; but rheumatism of the same kind is very common here." And Dr. Bickersteth's letters are to the same effect, *i.e.* that over-work was the chief malady.

"The disease is not uncommon here," he wrote when recovering, "though seldom in so obstinate a form. Both my medical men attribute it in some degree, perhaps a great degree, to over-work and over-anxiety, and when I call to mind all I have gone through during the last year, I am not disposed to question their view. But I know not for what purpose it has been sent, and I pray God, and trust you will do the same, that it be not lost upon me. I trust I may hereafter devote the life He has spared more entirely to the promotion of His Glory and Kingdom in the world, and that I may not forget my own soul while watching for those of others. Nothing can be more kind, gentle, and considerate than Dr. Bickersteth, who made us take up our quarters in his house. . . . I need not tell you that dearest Sophy has been everything to me during my long illness—my ever-watchful nurse by night and day. She has read incessantly to me, for, wearisome as it was to me, it was necessary to keep me from thinking, which was very painful. Nothing now is wanting, with God's Blessing, but care and a little time. The disease has entirely left me, and I am walking and driving daily. But, amidst all this, the whole dissenting press is vehemently attacking the Government propositions of £400 for Bishop and £400 for Archdeacon. It is rousing, I hope, our Church people, and will, I trust, do good. I have not seen the papers,—I could not bear it; but though they are attacking vehemently the Bishopric, I am told they have not been able to lay hold of any word or act of mine or my companions which they can turn to their own purposes."

The moment he had shaken off the immediate effects of his very painful illness, Bishop Gray was at work again. In the same letter which gives the above particulars, he goes on to speak of the need of a Church newspaper, which he says he shall take immediate steps to start, although without editor or funds. "But these," he characteristically adds, "are difficulties which *must* be overcome." The negotiations for the South African College too were begun again, and he reports that Mr. Davidson had bought for him some £10 shares in that institution for 10s. each! "Nothing but religious intolerance, hatred and fear of the Church, will prevent my plan from succeeding; but I see so much of this, that I own I am not sanguine."

This letter was finished on "S. Peter's Day—the anniversary of my Consecration—a solemn day for me, and one spent in much weakness and pain. I was to have taken part in our Cathedral service on Sunday, returning home on Monday. But God ordained otherwise. On Sunday morning I had another not very violent relapse, and have since been confined to my bed or room; I trust I am slowly mending, but the finishing this letter is the only effort Sophy will let me make. You need not be alarmed. . . . God has richly comforted me on this day by a letter from Merriman informing me of Mr. White, a Fellow and Tutor of New College, a first-class man, offering to come out for five years at his own expense. I was just wanting such a man, and had just broached my scheme about the S. A. College to the Chief Justice on Saturday last, and was to have gone and stayed a day or two with him to talk it fully over, and it was while ruminating over this in bed that my attack came on." The letter concludes with the touching assurance: "Though naturally in my hours of weakness my thoughts turn with much affection to all we have left at home, yet I do not regret my coming if God will only accept my poor services. Yet I have sometimes thought that my severe pains have been but a too just chastisement for my presumption in undertaking an office for which I was so unfit. But then again I think, surely it was forced upon me? But I must conclude, or Sophy will chide me. . . . Be assured, dearest Annie, we are often with you all in spirit, and our prayers rise up every night and day for each of you all, that you may be blessed in body and soul, and labours of love. And I see the fruits of prayers offered up in our behalf, in much that has already occurred to encourage us."

By the middle of July the Bishop was able to report himself as improving daily; and having but little unpleasant sensation left about his head, while he was in active labour about his proposed college and other diocesan works. He was just about to open a school for the heathen, with night-class, etc., and intended in a week's time to hold the Confirmations which had been inevitably postponed by his illness, as also an Ordination. "You will hardly believe," he says, "that I am sitting writing over an English fire in the middle of July; but so it is. We are in the middle of our winter, and the damp strikes a great chill. We are also more susceptible of cold in this climate than in a cooler one."

The Bishop was also preparing for his first Visitation, for which he would "require eight horses, costing at the least £20 each, and one or two to ride—harness, £15; waggon, £100—so that my equipment will cost £300, and my travelling expenses about £200 more."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Protea, July 28th, 1848.

"My dear Edward . . . . I am now, thank God, well, or nearly so; but somewhat nervous, in fact as bad as any young lady! But I am getting fat, and am immersed in work. Just now I am in the thick of Confirmations, Ordinations, and meetings, which I was obliged to postpone; and the College, Cathedral, new Church, Church Ordinance, and new Marriage Law, are all pressing on my attention. I expect to fail in negotiations with the College, and shall not be sorry. Perhaps also I shall fail in freeing the Cathedral from the incubus of shareholders. We had a meeting last week for a new church, and in this I hope we shall succeed; but we ought to have £5,000, building is so *very* expensive here. Difficulties are thickening round us, and yet will; the simple fact of a Bishop's arrival seems to have roused the jealousy and bigotry of sectarianism. Thank God they have not yet been able to bring *personal* charges against any of us. One thing that is worrying me just now, is the establishment of a newspaper. . . . I hope, D.V., to start on my Visitation the 28th August, and to return by the 2nd December. . . . I go by the coast,—Caledon, Swellendam, George, Knysna, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Graham's Town, Bathurst, and then strike up into the interior and Kafirland, and come home by the Karroo.

"This mail will bring you news of the outbreak of the Boers; Sir Harry starts to-morrow. I had a talk with him and Montagu yesterday about them. Prætorius, who is at their head, is a very clever fellow. Sir Harry has offered £1,000 for his head, and £500 for a Mr. Jacob. If he catches either of these he will hang them. They will perhaps have 1,200 well-mounted men. Sir Harry will have 1,000 of all arms soon at Colesberg where he will meet them, and proceed to meet the Boers, who will probably retreat into the interior out of his reach. At present Prætorius is besieging Major Warden with about 70 men at Bloemfontein. It is doubtful whether he can hold out against 500 till succour reach him. . . . I am daily looking out for Mr. Newman, who ought to have been here long ago, and for Mr. Green and Campbell. Poor Dr. Orpen is not more than 150 miles from Prætorius; in his last letter he asked leave to go to Bloemfontein to baptize and hold a religious service. I shall probably take Mr. Green on my Visitation. I have not been able, in consequence of my illness, to pick up much Dutch, which I shall feel the want of.—Your affectionate brother,

"R. Capetown."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, August 9th, 1848.

"My dearest Annie . . . . I really have had very little time of late for writing to England—every hour of my time has been employed since my recovery. I am writing every night from dinner time till 11 o'clock. Thank God I am now nearly well—the low spirits which oppressed me greatly when beginning to recover have almost entirely left me; but I am still nervous like a young lady, though I trust, too, I am shaking off this. For the last fortnight I have had nearly every day a Confirmation, Ordination, or meeting of some kind. Our Confirmations have, I believe, done good:—they have made an impression on our own people, parents as well as candidates, and upon my friends, the Dutch ministers, several of whom attended, and were, I think, struck with the superiority of our services over their own. I confirmed the candidates separately, saying the prayer for each candidate, and blessing only one at a time. I am persuaded the more usual method still prevalent in England is one piece of slovenliness of the last century which we have still to get rid of. Our Ordination included one Priest and one Deacon, and took place during morning service. I preached after morning prayers. We had a full Church, and people seemed impressed. The Communicants were numerous. . . . The Confirmation in Cape Town next day excited a commotion in the city,—the street near the Cathedral was quite thronged, and we had every corner of the church crammed. Our Communicants last Sunday—198. Altogether I confirmed in various places 350 children. I need not give you an account of our various meetings,—they have related chiefly to churches. . . . Last week we had a Synod of the Clergy of the Western Province here. There were nine assembled besides myself, and I brought under their notice several important matters. Upon some I sought their counsel, as the formation of a Church Society;—a General Church Ordinance, giving a legal status to all our Churches—placing them and our parishes as nearly as possible upon the footing of our dear Mother Church;—prayer for Governor and Council, education for rich and poor. Upon other points of discipline in which they have been very lax, I issued certain *injunctions*—relating to Marriage, Baptism, Holy Communion, etc. etc. Upon others I offered suggestions—as Catechising, etc. But as either the journal of our proceedings will be printed, or I shall print a Pastoral Letter on these points, I will send you a fuller account. Our meeting passed off very happily—we were very unanimous, and a brotherly spirit prevailed. We began our council with prayers in our little Chapel, which is fitted up very ecclesiastically, with proper poppy-headed benches, Communion Table, desks, and Lizzy's books. To-day I have been at a Christian Knowledge Meeting, which was well attended by the laity. I had, too, one of the Paris Missionary Society Missionaries brought to me to state the lamentable condition they are reduced to by the Revolution in Paris. Their Society cannot any longer support them; £3,000 a year is suddenly withdrawn, and they are told they must shift for themselves. They are for the most part in Moshesh's territory, who has probably ere this been attacked by the Boers under Prætorius. I mean to subscribe liberally to their present support, stating expressly that I do not support their *Mission*, but only *Christian men* who have left home and friends for Christ's Sake to preach His Blessed Gospel. It would, I think, be a great sin, and show a lack of Christian spirit, not to help them in their distress. The Governor says their Missions are some of the best he has seen. It is intended that the Dutch who have no Missions of their own should ultimately support them, they being willing to conform to the Dutch Church. But it will be long, very long, before the Dutch raise £3,000 a year, or £300 either!

"I expect to start on my Visitation to-morrow fortnight. I have engaged two men, and believe I must have a third. My horses are not yet bought, but the country is being scoured for them. My wagon, a thorough English one, has got its canvas top on, and will be ready in a few days, and then I shall plunge into the interior, and at the same time into a sea of troubles. . . . Our weather is getting milder, but we have had much cold and rain. . . . All the family must consider my letters to you as addressed to them: I write as often as I can, but the Diocese occupies very much of my time. I never read now. I hope next year I may have more leisure, but it is singular how much I have to write and do, even so as sometimes to be obliged to act without sufficient thought. God bless you, dearest.—Your affectionate brother, R. CAPETOWN."

Before starting on his Visitation, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Hawkins, giving a full account of what he had been doing, most of which has been already mentioned in other letters—pressing earnestly, as usual, for more help both in men and money, the latter especially for the church to which Mr. Douglas was about to devote himself, in the worst and most neglected part of the city, where he was to have charge of the emigrants as they arrived, and of the jail. This church was also intended to be that of the English sailors, who did not meet with the public offices of their Church anywhere else between India and the Mother Country, while seldom fewer than from twenty to thirty English ships were to be found in the harbour. The Bishop goes on to speak of Dr. Orpen, whose self-devotion excited his warm sympathy and respect, and who was painfully impressed with the religious destitution all around him, and of others in their respective works; as also of the Synod of his Clergy lately held, repeating that it was "most harmonious—a brotherly feeling prevailed throughout. God grant that we may witness many similar meetings." The Bishop also dwells on the religious neglect of the troops. "The condition in which our troops are left is most painful and disgraceful. We have at this time one regiment and 300 soldiers belonging to another at Natal, without a chaplain. We have 900 men now collecting at Colesberg to subdue the Boers, and no chaplain to go with them. The great body of our troops on the Eastern frontier have not for years seen the face of a Clergyman."

There was little time for letter-writing amid all the press of work and preparation, but the Bishop found time for a few affectionate lines to his niece, Mrs. Mowbray, in which he says "I could draw you a pathetic picture of my coming hardships, in the way of impassable rivers, overturning of wagons, sleepless nights while outspanning in the rain, parching deserts, etc.; or I could turn it all into ridicule by describing the care with which I am going to pack sundry bottles of ale and brandy, and to provide myself with hams, smoked beef, gridirons, frying pans, and all apparatus for the *cuisine* department; but I forbear." In a longer, more detailed letter to his brother Charles, he says :—

"Protea, August 21st, 1848. . . . I start the day after to-morrow, and expect to return early in December. There is much, very much, to be done in various places. God grant that my journey may tend to the promotion of His Glory, and the extension of His Kingdom on earth. I travel in my coach and eight-in-hand, and my turn out has cost about £300. It is a large sum, but there is no help for it. I could give you a pathetic account of my prospects which would do for your next Missionary Meeting, or a very different picture of luxuries and petty comforts which would do for a speech in the House of Commons, but you shall have the reality from my Journal in course of time. As you live in the neighbourhood of Lady Olivia Sparrow & Co., pray remember to inform her that I had a very friendly conversation yesterday in a call upon Dr. Philips, the Independent *Bishop;* another with Dr. Adamson, the head of a new sect called the *Apostolical Union;* another with Mr. Faure of the Dutch Communion. These three all in one day will show my catholic spirit, I hope. The subjects of our discussion were missions and a college. Dr. Philips, who is an autocrat under the London Missionary Society, did not speak very cheeringly of their missions. They are not likely, I think, to renew them in Kafirland, and he rather encouraged me to take up the Kafirs. I find that in this Colony Missionaries are in little better odour than Bishops. Many of them are mere traffickers, and books and reports are not to be believed. Moravians, Independents, and Wesleyans, all grow rich by dealing in tea and coffee, guns and gunpowder, horses and hides, blankets and ivory. But I shall know more of these things hereafter. . . . I have read through Simeon's Life. It is rather too long, and there are too many letters. I have a considerable reverence for his character as a man of God, and believe him to have been a great instrument in His Hand for the revival of religion. I have been much struck with the sobriety of his views, and generally the good sense with which he acted. There are, of course, points one cannot agree in—as buying up livings and putting them in trust, etc. He was, however, most clearly a holy man, a man far superior in personal piety to most in these days who stand out in public. May we all become more and more like him in this respect. . . . I have just licensed a Wesleyan[1] local preacher as a Catechist in Cape Town. I am sure, after all the evidences I have given you of Evangelical catholicity, Lady Olivia will consider me hopeful. . . . All our party are quite well. I am tolerably so: I should say *quite*, were it not for occasional pains in the head, and loss of sleep now and then from nervous excitability."

We must now turn to Bishop Gray's Journal, to see what his first Visitation really was. The following are extracts from it:—

"*August* 24*th*, 1848.—May God grant that this Visitation may tend to the promotion of His Glory, and to the extension of the Kingdom of His Dear Son in this desolate and long-neglected portion of the vineyard. . . . Slept the first night at Mr. Cloete's, Sandileet, where I was entertained very hospitably. He is anxious to build a church near his house.

August 25*th*, Started at 6 A.M.[2] I do not find wagon travelling so unpleasant as I expected. It is rather rough work, but I have managed to read. . . . I hope to form the villages of Erste River, Stellenbosch, and Worcester into a parish. . . . Slept at Bot River—our whole journey lay amongst the mountains. We passed very few houses in which I did not find English labourers.

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[1] This individual, Mr. Richardson, is mentioned in the Bishop's last letter to Mr. Hawkins, as "*formerly* a Wesleyan;" he was not, as this other notice might seem to imply, a Wesleyan when licensed by the Bishop as a Catechist.

[2] Mrs. Gray says of the start, "Our great annoyance was, that after we had extorted Robert's consent to take Mr. Green with him (as he thought it too fatigu-

"*August 26th*, Started at 6 A.M. Our route still lay through the mountains, which, as we reached Caledon, dwindled down to hills; the country is very bare, here and there only there are a few cultivated patches; the general features are like our English moors—there is scarce a tree to be seen. . . . Breakfast with Captain Mackay, the Resident Magistrate; afterwards walked round the village to look for a site for the proposed church. There are many English in this neighbourhood, and it is an important post for a church and clergyman. Drove on to Captain Ranier's (four hours), where I am to have head-quarters for a day or two while visiting the district.

"*Sunday, Tenth after Trinity, August 27th*, Service in Captain Ranier's dining-room and hall—seventy persons present. I baptized two children after the Second Lesson; there were fifteen communicants. Again, full service in the evening,—many coloured people present. Captain Ranier reads prayers and a sermon every Sunday morning and evening: the nearest church and clergyman are Cape Town—three days' journey from this place. 29*th*, Meeting at Caledon, more than fifty persons present; nearly £120 was raised in the room for a church; . . . some offered timber, reeds, etc.; others, to draw materials. . . . Several after the meeting spoke with much feeling of their wretched state in the entire absence of all means of grace. . . . One man brought two of his daughters

ing for me, and Mr. Badnall could not be spared from his duties here), Mr. Green did not arrive, and he had to go alone, though I believe he was nervous and wished for a companion. However, the very next day Mr. Green did arrive, and was sent after him. All these young clergy were greatly scandalised at the idea of the Bishop's going alone, as they said it was both too undignified and not Apostolic, but absolutely unprecedented in all history. Is this true, Dr. Williamson? I don't wish it to be, because if it is, he will always have to take a chaplain, and that will exclude me, because though it may be quite possible for two to sleep in a wagon, it clearly is not for three!"

twenty-five miles, and asked me to confirm them. . . . After some conversation with and examination of them, I confirmed them. I also baptized two children of English emigrants. . . . Received a note to say that Mr. Green had arrived by the 'Oriental,' and would follow me to act as chaplain.

"*August* 30*th*, Rode about eighteen miles to the Moravian Institution at Genadendale; the brethren and sisters received me very kindly. We arrived about twelve o'clock, and as it was their dinner hour, we sat down with them. They invited me to say grace, and sit at the head of the table, but I requested them not to regard my presence; they therefore sang their grace as usual, very beautifully. They gave me the chickens, and Captain Ranier the ham to carve, I believe as a mark of respect. After dinner we went over the establishment—church, schools, workshops, etc. There are nearly 3,000 souls altogether in the place, and more than 600 children in the schools, eight brethren with their wives and children. There are nine young men from different tribes being educated as teachers, and with these I was pleased, though the amount of their information did not seem great. . . . Would to God the Church in this Colony could point to a work of equal importance with this, as the result of her own labours in the cause of Christ among the heathen.

"31*st*, Rode off in the morning to the mountains to fix upon a site for the Zonder-Ende Church.

"*September* 1*st*, Breakfasted at Mr. Vine's: he has a large family and several English labourers, all living without the public means of grace. . . . Outspanned at another English farmer's, Mr. Twentyman, who has also several English families and no Church or Clergyman within 100 miles. In one of the cottages we found a poor English child about twelve years of age, apparently dying . . . she knew not what prayer was . . . we all knelt down and prayed for her, poor child! We were detained here some time waiting for some children whom their parents anxiously desired us to baptize. . . . Met a very kind note from Dr. Robertson, the zealous Dutch minister of Swellendam, inviting me to take up my quarters at his house during my stay there. . . . The only opportunity our people here have of attending public worship is an afternoon service, established by Dr. R., especially for the English—they have no Church of their own within 150 miles;—God grant that my visit there may lead to a change in these things! Several of our people have joined the Dutch Communion, but some are anxious to remain in the bosom of their Mother Church, and have declined to forsake her, even though she seems to have forsaken them. . . .

"*11th Sunday after Trinity, September 3rd.*—Confirmed several people, thirteen Communicants—preached.

"*September 5th,* Riversdale, Villiers. . . . I was unwilling to quit the village without some religious service, so sent after dinner to ask for the use of the magistrate's house, and we let the English people know that there would be evening prayer and sermon at 7.30.

"*6th,* Slept at Gronge's Stink River. At the Goaritz River we all had to keep the wagon from rolling over by pulling it straight with a rope. We are very fortunate in the beautiful weather; one day's rain would probably have kept us several days on the banks of this river.

"*7th,* Sleepless and excited night. . . . Mossel Bay. Along the banks of the Knysna, through heavy rain, to Portlands"—when the Bishop was "dressed out in a long mackintosh, and exchanged my hat for an oilskin jockey cap, which had no very episcopal appearance!"—then to Plettenberg Bay, Melville, through the forests to Ávonteuer, and over abominable roads to Rademeyer, and so on to Port Elizabeth.

So the Journal continues, a series of journeys more or less fatiguing, usually starting about 5 A.M, every halt being filled up with services; baptizing, confirming, preaching, visiting schools and institutions, fixing sites of churches, and presiding at public meetings with a view to building them. A letter to Dr. Williamson supplies some of what is omitted in the Journal:—

"Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay, Sept. 29th, 1848.

. . . "I have now been travelling for upwards of five weeks in my desolate Diocese. . . . I have had much, very much, to cheer me since I left home. But, singularly enough, the most spiritually destitute have given me most satisfaction. Most unfortunately where our few Clergy have been located, my ears have been pained with complaints and grievances, and I fear not without sufficient cause. The Clergy generally in this Diocese do not understand parochial work, they are not men who are instant in season, out of season; not earnest, devout, laborious ministers of God—but this is for your private ear. At the same time they have very difficult duties to fulfil. The people are too often coarse and offensive, and the Clergy have no opportunities of seeing each other, and stirring up one another to their duties, and sink in consequence into dull, apathetic officials. This, however, is not true of all; there are one or two in this Eastern District of whom all speak with great respect and affection. These things, however, oppress me not a little, but I am not, I trust, cast down; for I have had so many signs of God's Good Spirit being with us, that it would be sinful to despond. I have now travelled 900 miles, either in wagon, on foot, or horseback, and this is the first place where I have found an English Church since I left Capetown. . . . Since I began I have got a batch of letters by 'Agincourt,' which has brought out Mr. Newman. You are right to act for me as you think fit in money or other matters; but I expect to be ruined, and am already well-nigh distracted with the burden laid upon me, and the variety of occupations. It is only by very early rising that I can snatch a few moments for letter-writing, for my days are wholly occupied either in travelling, or receiving people, or services, or meetings; and I am just now knocked up with the work. Merriman seems to be bringing out nine men with him. I fear I shall still want several discreet, earnest young Clergymen. . . . To day I confirm [1]—there are about 50 candidates, and there ought to be 150. The dissenters have been leaving bitter tracts against Confirmation in every house, but it has, I think, done us no harm, and them no good. The population here is rapidly increasing, and the Church I fear losing ground. . . . You will hear that Sir H. Smith has settled this wretched outbreak of the Boers. I had hoped to meet him in Kaffraria, but I fear he will have left before I reach Graham's Town. . . . Merriman will have a great deal to do in raising the character of the Church, it is very very low at present. The Missionary Institutions throughout the Colony are held—I had almost said in abomination by the whole body of Colonists: 'nests of idleness' is the usual term applied to them, and even right-minded and religious men cannot altogether uphold them. I think it is quite clear that as the Parochial Clergy increase, these institutions ought to be and will be broken up. They keep the coloured and white population too widely apart, and the capital and the land of the country are deprived of the labour essential to the prosperity of the Colony. I should, however, be sorry to see them broken up for a few years. The Moravians are in most favour, and I think justly."

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[1] "Fifty-two candidates presented themselves—there were fifty-three, but one at the last moment was unable to utter the solemn words, 'I do.' I was glad to find that conscience withheld him, and trust it may please God to bring him to confess Christ before men at some future day. Our confirmation here, as everywhere, is, I trust, likely to prove a blessing. . . . I believe all felt the reality and solemnity of the sacred ceremony, so that we have no cause to regret the attack made upon us."—*Journal, September* 30*th*, 1848.

Leaving Port Elizabeth, the Bishop wrote: "It is a very rising place, and I am in better heart about it than when I entered it; but the quarrels there, as elsewhere, are most distressing. Peacemaking, though a blessing be pronounced upon it, is a very exhausting work; and it is very mortifying to have to spend so much time at it wherever we have Clergy. That has been my chief occupation at the only places where I have found them. . . . I do not look forward with much comfort to political changes here; we are in a fearful minority, and the Dutch are very ignorant, prejudiced, and indolent, and dislike the English. The two races, in fact, do not associate. The English look upon them with contempt, and they feel their inferiority, and are jealous of those who are their superiors. The Dutch farmer occupies his own land, generally about 6,000 acres; he does not till any great portion of the soil, his chief riches are oxen and sheep;—they are of course but thinly scattered over the country, and have great distances to go to Church. The chief occasion on which they do go occurs once a quarter at the *Nacht Maal* (Lord's Supper). Their children are in very many instances growing up in entire ignorance—generally, however, they get a drunken soldier or some loose character to act as teacher, and he stays three months or more in one house, and then passes on to another. The people are universally hospitable, though I pay them fully. The Judge, who has hitherto followed me, has amused me much with their sayings about the Bishop. They had very correct notions at least as to the Episcopal person—portly, dignified, stately, and *wigged;* and were not a little surprised that I was like other men! . . . I wish you would send me Pusey's last volume of Sermons. I have entirely restored my health, but do not like to boast."

The Visitation next took the Bishop to the Sunday River, where at dawn of day, about 5 A.M., he took his first swim in African water. This was on the 3rd October, his birthday. "I have now completed my 39th year," he writes. "May I not forget how rapidly time is passing, and eternity approaching. May I live daily as one who is shortly to give up his account to God. I daily feel more keenly my own insufficiency for the great charge entrusted to me. God give me wisdom, faithfulness, zeal, meekness, humility, patience, firmness, that I may be able to exercise my high office aright. I often think that when the rough work shall be over, and there may be a call for one possessing higher qualifications than myself, I shall be laid aside, and another better qualified to exercise the higher and more important functions of the Episcopate be raised up. I pray God to dispose of me in any way, whether by life or by death, that may best serve for the promotion of His Glory, the extension of the Kingdom of my Ever Blessed Redeemer, and the salvation of the souls for whom He died. I wish not to live a day longer than I can serve Him."

In a letter written at the same time the Bishop says: "I have now travelled through my unwieldy Diocese near 1,000 miles, and I have yet 2,000 before me on this Visitation. Since I left Cape Town I have met with *one* English Church! but I travelled 900 miles before I came to it. You will feel with me how sad an evidence this is of past unfaithfulness and neglect. But, blessed be God! I have been enabled to arrange for eleven churches along the line I have passed over, and I can truly say that my heart has been full of thankfulness and rejoicing as I have passed over this spiritual waste, for I have seen and heard enough to convince me that God has not cast off His lukewarm Church, but has yet in store for us a great work to do in Southern Africa, if only we have heart to enter upon it. . . . The most painful part of my duties is to adjust differences and reconcile parties. You must pray that God will raise us up true and faithful pastors. Indeed this He has most wonderfully and mercifully done already to an extent I could not have dared to hope. . . . I enjoy travelling very much. It is a quiet season, and one of rest, reading, and thought. . . . Roads we have none, but we drive over hill and dale, mountain, and valley, and river, and constantly breakfast by some running stream. Hitherto I have always found a bed at a Dutch farmhouse."

It was all very well to say that travelling was a quiet season, and one of rest; but certainly it was not always so. A day or two after writing this letter, the Bishop, having reached Graham's Town, heard that Sir Harry Smith was to meet the Kafir chiefs the following Saturday (this was Thursday), and he determined, if possible, to be there too. The distance was 90 miles, but he remembered that on some occasion Sir H. Smith had ridden 100 miles daily for a week, and felt capable of doing as much to promote the welfare of his Diocese as the Governor of his secular charge. People told him he could not do it, but he and Mr. Heaviside went to the Brigade Major, who undertook to provide them with horses, and order relays for them. Accordingly, at 4 A.M. on Friday, October 6th, the Bishop appeared in a not altogether Episcopal garb of leathers, jackboots, and white hat, and, accompanied by Mr. Heaviside, rode off, their first stage being Trumpeter's Drift, where they got some tea and bread and butter, while procuring fresh horses, with which they had to swim the Great Fish River, reaching Fort Peddie about 1 o'clock. After passing the hills they came upon a good road, and made the rest of their way at full gallop, which the Bishop found very exhilarating, in spite of heat. They reached King William's Town by 7 P.M., and found it illuminated with bonfires in honour of the Governor, to whom the Bishop went as soon as he had changed his clothes, not at all tired with his day's work.[1]

The meeting of the Kafir chieftains was fixed for 12 o'clock the following day, but from early in the morning they came pouring in with their trains of followers, some mounted, some on foot, from every side. Dressed as they were in dirty blankets, brass armlets, huge strings of beads or bone round their necks, and long wands in their hands, they were an altogether new and most picturesque sight. The whole place was in a state of the greatest bustle and excitement. The Bishop breakfasted with the Governor, and met the Chief Umhala, to whom Sir Harry Smith delivered a lecture on the Hierarchy, which, however, seemed to depend for its main argument on the illustration of two sticks, a short and a long one, the latter representing the immensely superior height of a Bishop to all other religious officers! At noon they went in procession to the appointed place of meeting—the Bishop walking on the Governor's right hand, and Colonel Mackinnon, the Chief Commissioner, on his left. The band played "God Save the Queen," and the chieftains hurraed as they sat in a semicircle, outside which their followers were ranged in another and large row. About thirty chiefs and three chieftainesses were present—the former dressed in all manner of odd ways, from a gorgeously embroidered military surtout downwards through velvet plaid shooting jackets, to a blanket, the only garb affected by any of their suites. The Governor made them a long speech on political matters, alternately petting and scolding them; and after the chiefs had made such answers as they wished, he went on to tell them that the Great Father of the Christians, the Lord Bishop, the Chief Minister of the Church and the Queen's religion, the *Takosi Tukulu* of the Christians, whose business it was to teach everybody in the land the way to heaven, had ridden ninety miles the day before, in order to come and see them, and try to do them good. Then the Bishop said the same sort of thing, and Umhala and a chieftainess both replied that so great a man of God never having before come among them, they did not know what to say, but they wished to be taught about God, and to have schools. The chiefs followed the Englishmen back to the Governor's lodgings, and talked, improving the occasion at the same time from a practical point of view, by begging for blankets, tiger skins, and spirits.

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[1] Mrs. Gray, writing of this expedition, adds: "As Sir Harry says, he gallops, preaches, confirms, talks, speechifies, all in a breath, and all equally well!" Mrs. Gray, while at home, bore her part in working for the Diocese. Before the end of 1848 she had drawn eleven plans of churches, with their working designs. The Bishop might well say, "Sophy is architect to the Diocese!"

The next day being Sunday, the Bishop had an early celebration, preached both at matins and evensong, and started a Sunday School; and in the evening he had a long talk with Kreli, Umhala, and one or two other chiefs; but, inasmuch as it had to be carried on through the medium of three languages, it was not eminently satisfactory. Still the Bishop was thankful that he had made the exertion, and that the Kafirs had heard more about Christianity than they would have done had he not been there. On Monday, October 9th, the Bishop and Mr. Heaviside started again at 5 A.M., galloped forty miles before 9.30, when they reached Fort Peddie, where he arranged the sites of church, school, and parsonage; held a service in the barrack-room, the big drum being his pulpit, and his robes worn over leathers and jackboots. This was attended by all the white people in the place, and while he was forming a Committee for the proposed Church, Mr. Heaviside baptized several children. The Bishop wrote home that he looked upon this place as the pivot of all missionary operations in Kafirland. The Governor was very anxious for a fine church, which, he said, with good music, would have a great effect on the Kafirs. At 1 o'clock they started again, and arrived at Graham's Town by 8 P.M. So much for quiet and restful travelling.[1]

The Bishop remained till the 17th at Graham's Town, during which time there was morning service at 7.30 A.M., and evensong with a sermon daily, that being the only way, as he said, that he could hear his Clergy preach. He confirmed a large number of persons, and it is noticeable that the editor of the Methodist newspaper volunteered to print and distribute gratis to all the candidates a copy of the Bishop's address. A Synod of the Clergy of the Eastern Province occupied two days; on the 14th the Bishop himself examined a candidate for Holy Orders (Mr. Long) in the Articles and Greek Testament, and the following day (being the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity) ordained him, administering the Blessed Sacrament to 150 communicants, and preached twice. The 16th was filled up by local meetings and Church business of all kinds; and on the 17th the Bishop started for Southwell, but lost his way, as he relates in the following letter to Dr. Williamson:—

"Pot-House, Lower Albany, October 17th, 1848.

"My dear Richard—It's an ill wind, they say, that blows nobody good, which is just being illustrated in your case, for you now stand a chance of getting a business letter answered which you might have waited long enough for, had I not found myself benighted at a pot-house, when I ought to have been twenty miles off on a different road; having been misled by a stupid fellow whom the Chaplain at Graham's Town engaged to show me the way, for which blunder you will agree with me the said Chaplain deserves at least three months' suspension! It has thrown me quite out; my only chance of recovering myself is by rising at 3—driving five hours and riding three—to a confirmation at 11 o'clock at Southwell to-morrow. Enough, however, of my misfortunes. I am burning to give you all an account of my last fortnight; but you shall have business—dry enough—instead! . . . The amount to which I am pledged (to Clergy and Catechists), as you will see, far exceeds my income. . . . But I cannot help encouraging our people here to make exertions for themselves, and promising to help them. The real wants of this Colony are far greater than I imagined in England; the Church population, too, is far larger, and they have been, and still are, in various places aiding the erection of dissenting chapels, for want of any effort upon the part of the Church. If you could witness what I have witnessed, and still witness daily, you would feel with me that I *must* go forward and enter upon the work which God in His Providence opens out to me. . . . I have had most distressing work in every place where I have yet been in hearing complaints against the Clergy. Our Church is indeed in a sad condition. I do hope S. P. G. will aid me in my work out of their own funds. This Diocese has a right to look for something beyond what I was able to raise for it. It has too long been neglected, and there is that to be done and undone which is sufficient to break the spirit and wear out the energies of better men than myself. But I will not write despondingly; it would be sinful. God is, I trust, with us. Much has already been done in this land to place things on a better footing, and the hearts of men are cheered. Things have, in too many ways to mention, fallen out wonderfully for the furtherance of the Gospel. I attribute much to the prayers of those who are dear to me; it is a great comfort to me, and gives me much confidence, to know that many daily intercede for us."

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[1] The Governor returned at once to Cape Town by sea; and Mrs. Gray mentions his kindness in going out *immediately* to Protea, to tell her how well the Bishop was, and how charmed every one was with him, speaking of him in the most affectionate manner.

The result of this delay was that the Bishop could not reach Southwell as appointed. He started the next morning at 4 o'clock, in the dark; but heavy rain set in, and the roads were all but impassable, wagon and horses sliding about in every direction, and they proceeded through a pretty country, severely marked with the traces of recent Kafir devastations, in momentary expectation of an upset. On arriving at Bathurst the Bishop learnt that no horses could get across to Southwell, so he was obliged to disappoint the people, always a most unwilling act on his part. The next day he consecrated the church at Bathurst, celebrating, preaching, and confirming. The appointment at Southwell was kept a day or two later, and the same incessant work continued. "Indeed I am pretty well wearied out," he wrote from Bathurst. "This Diocese is really a much more important one than I had any idea of when I was in England. If, instead of £1,500 a year, I had £3,000 or £4,000 at my disposal, I could establish the Church everywhere, but I shall have great difficulties with my present scanty means. It is almost a mystery to me to see what a field there is before us after our long neglect of this Colony. The Methodists are a very strong body in this Eastern province, but they are not in a healthy state. They are oppressed on one side by a fearful amount of worldliness, on the other by a wild fanaticism. Had our Clergy been leading men, a good deal more might have been done."

At Fort Beaufort (October 24th) the same work went on—celebration, services, preaching, Confirmation, large meeting, Evensong, and another sermon—inspection of Church and churchyard; after which the Bishop visited a dying man, and after a sleepless night (the frequent result of excitement and anxiety about his flock, and the responsibilities arising from it) he was off to Fort Hare, to begin the same sort of thing over again; and so on at Auckland, Chumie, and Balfour, riding fifty miles in the day—starting again on October 27th in a dense cold fog, and losing their way before reaching Fort Retief; then to Mancazana Post, the Great Fish River, Somerset, and Cradock. Some extracts from the Journal must be given, at the risk of sameness, to show the life of unwearied exertion involved:—

"*Nov. 2nd,* Up at 4 A.M. . . . through a country hilly and barren till we reached some farms called Spit Kop, where we were to sleep; but finding there was only one dark hole where the family slept, and which they kindly offered to give up to us, we preferred passing the night in the wagon, with our men snoring on the ground on one side of us, and the horses tethered to the wagon on the other. Unfortunately for them, poor things, the night was a cold one.

"*Nov. 3rd,* Started a little after 5 A.M. By 10.30 arrived on the banks of the Fish River, where we first bathed, and then shaved, which we had no opportunity of doing before. We offered up our morning orisons under the shade of the mimosa.[1] Our road from hence lay along a stony, desolate valley, with mountains on either side, until we reached Cradock about 3 P.M. I find here a Dutch church, Wesleyan and Independent chapels, but no English church or clergyman. Many of our people have already joined other communions—others attend their services till a better day shall dawn. Official business, meetings, services, Baptisms, Confirmations. . . .

"*Nov. 7th,* Up at 4. I walked on before the wagon, having wearied myself out with reading Southey's *Life of Wesley* in the night. About this house (Zoet Fontein) we found three tame ostriches, also the secretary bird. Our journey, as yesterday, lay over a great desert plain, with nothing upon it but a kind of bush; abounding, however, with the springbok, of which we must have seen thousands. . . . Where we outspanned we found the ground for a considerable extent actually covered with locusts, giving some idea of what the plague of locusts must have been. . . . Slept at Peter Zisanopel's farm, Macaster Fontein. . . . The farmer asked us to hold a service in Dutch, saying they were so seldom able to hear God's ministers. Though very doubtful whether they could understand my Dutch, I thought it wrong not to comply. We began with a Psalm; I then read a portion of the Word of God, and offered up some of the prayers of our Church. They professed to understand all I said; but I fear my pronunciation must have appeared ridiculous to them.

"*Nov. 8th,* Off again between 5 and 6 A.M.; arrived at Colesberg a little after 5 P.M. It is situated in a kind of valley, between two rows of barren broken rocks. . . . Took up our quarters with Dr. and Mrs. Orpen. . . .[2]

[1] He told his wife that he enjoyed outspanning and breakfasting in the Bush, boiling their kettle, and cooking mutton-chops and eggs very successfully.

[2] In a letter from Colesberg the Bishop says: "The Dutch have a singular way

"*Sunday, Nov.* 12*th* (21st after Trinity), Ordained Dr. Orpen Deacon, and had much satisfaction and joy in admitting him to the ministry. We had a large congregation on the occasion. . . . I preached on the duties and privileges of the Christian ministry. . . . The treatment of the coloured heathen is, from all I can learn, anything but what it should be, and but little calculated to win them to the faith of Christ. . . . The Government is now consulting as to the best method for checking their thefts of cattle, etc. The farmers have, in several instances, suggested that they should be allowed to administer a '*vaderlicht tucht,*' or fatherly correction, the tender nature of which may be seen in the case of a poor coloured man in jail, or *tronk,* at Colesberg, the soles of whose feet were so beaten by a farmer that he is now obliged to crawl about on his hands and knees. Slept at Eland Fontein, I in the tent furnished for me by the Governor. I found my mother earth none of the softest, and had but little sleep. My morning toilet was performed at 1 o'clock by the side of a muddy *vlea,* much to the annoyance of the frogs; a vineyard was my oratory. . . .

"*November* 16*th,* We are again amidst the mountains, but everything has the same barren desolate aspect; the springboks and gnus have disappeared, and we have scarce seen any symptom of life, except a few sheep. We have found some difficulty even in procuring sufficient water for our horses, the streams being many of them quite dry through the long-continued drought. We have felt it, however, quite refreshing to have exchanged the wearisome plains for the mountains. Arrived at Graaff Reinet about 6 P.M. The approach to the town by the banks of the river with mountain crags hanging over it is very beautiful, and the town itself is charmingly situated among the hills. . . . The oleander here grows to a large tree, and I saw the Kafir broom and some magnificent weeping willows. . . . I found a packet of about thirty letters waiting me, some from

of building churches. They buy or get Government to give them a farm. Upon this they build a church, which perhaps costs £2,000 or £2,500. They then sell small allotments of land, called erven at a high price. Many purchase, and a village springs up, the church being the attraction. . . . Perhaps I may some day thus found a town."

England containing accounts of the falling off of my subscriptions, just as I have been pledging myself to near £400 a year beyond what I had raised. But God will provide; He will not suffer His Work to languish for want of a few hundred pounds.

"*Sunday* (22nd after Trinity), *November 19th*, Holy Communion and service in the Dutch Church. I preached on the necessity of coming to Christ in order to salvation, and the way in which men must come. So long have our people here been deprived of Holy Communion that very many do not seem to know how it is administered in the English Church. . . Collection to-day for Holy Vessels amounted to upwards of £18."

Here a letter to Mrs. Mowbray gives a lively representation of the Bishop's actual travels:—

"Karroo, November 22nd, 1848.

"My dearest Lizzie—I write to you from the Great Karroo or Desert, through which we are passing. We have just arrived at the huge bed of a mountain torrent, down which, were a thunderstorm to arise as is usual at this dry and hot season, a flood would rush sufficient to sweep away our wagon and our tent. Our men are collecting fuel, our poor jaded horses picking up the dry grass and enjoying a roll in the sand; and I am sitting on the bank of our river with a barren country and still more barren mountains around me, and a glorious setting sun, writing to you. There is no house within many miles of us, but enough water for us and our beasts, and biscuits, cheese, and ham, for us and our men. They sleep on the bare ground, Green in the wagon, and I under a little tent given me by the Governor, with sand for a downy bed.[1] We enjoy the freedom of this kind of life much more than stopping at a Dutch Boer's house, stammering out bad Dutch to dull ears and understandings, and sipping vile coffee. They are, however, most hospitable, and are always kind to the 'Predicant!!' As a specimen of hospitality, I may inform you that I had this day a plate of very nice bread and tallow placed before me: I discovered it was not butter in time to warn Green, but too late for myself! It is quite wonderful how our little horses stand their work. We rise at 4 A.M., start at 5—I generally walking on, being the first ready. We jog on till about 9 or 10, when we outspan, and cook our breakfast or breakfast at a Boer's, while our poor horses roll and pick bushes or dry grass, or perhaps have a bundle of oat straw for a treat. At 11 we start again under a broiling sun, and, unless there be a sea breeze, a cloud of dust. We outspan again perhaps at 2 P.M., when I walk on. We reach our destination at about 6.30, having generally travelled near fifty miles with a heavy wagon. We read nearly the whole time, and I always, as soon as I decently can, make my escape, write letters and my Journal, and so ends our day. I am not sorry my journey is drawing to a close, though I could enjoy great part of the actual travelling if it were not for the absence of all I love. I cannot, however, be too thankful to Almighty God for His many mercies: we have not had a single accident since I started, thirteen weeks ago. My health is greatly re-established, though I do not sleep well; and I trust the good cause is progressing, though amidst many trials and difficulties. It has been a great disappointment to me to hear from Edward and Richard of the falling off of my finances. . . . I trust to be at home with my dearest wife again by about December 19th, and then I shall have much anxious work before me. My present chief anxiety, however, is about finance. The sum which one Wesleyan Missionary costs in this country, £300 a year, would enable me, I believe, to keep six additional Clergy. If I am ruined I must be compelled to spend a year in England begging, but it will go far to kill me. . . . £200 a year here is not equal to £300 in England. Mutton and beef are from 1½d. to 3d. the lb., according to the locality; groceries cheap; house-rent, clothes, servants, all dear and all bad. A man would in many places do well as a teacher. I have heard of incompetent men making £500 a year, but there is great uncertainty. . . . I do not want mere gentlemen; we must gain a character for earnestness and devotion."

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[1] In the Journal the Bishop says: "My tent, which was pitched in the sand, was so loosened from its holdings by the wind that it kept flapping all night, and the sand drifted into my bed, so that I scarce got any rest. We enjoyed, however, the freedom of our mode of life, and lay gazing on our magnificent canopy of stars."

JOURNAL. "*November 23rd,* During the day we saw a great number of ostriches; we were quite rejoiced to see the mimosa again, of which a fortnight since we were so weary—anything green is pleasing, after the dreary waste of dry and withered bushes by which we have been of late surrounded. . . .

"*November 24th,* Arrived in Beaufort; found another packet of English letters, announcing the arrival of the Archdeacon and seven Clergy and Catechists. . . .

25*th,* Calling upon some of the English people, I found one lady who said she had been thirty-eight years in the Colony without seeing any minister of her own Church. . . . There is, however, a little congregation here of members of the English Church, who meet together every Lord's Day, to read the Church Service.

"27*th,* Up at 3 A.M., but was delayed some time waiting for the horses I had engaged, thinking it prudent to send my own on a day in advance, lest they should be quite knocked up on our long journey to George, over a road but little known, but known to be a bad one. Our route to-day has been along a dreary barren karroo; we have performed, however, nearly seventy miles over a rough road. Our horses stuck in the rough bed of a river, and I thought we should have to remain there till the next thunderstorm washed us all away. Our men suggested that Green and I should put our shoulders to the wheel, which we did, and at length got out. We outspanned for the night near a little muddy pool in the bed of the river; and here again we were obliged, as it was growing dark, to become hewers of wood for my fire, and drawers of water, while our men were pitching the tent, lighting the fire, cooking our supper, and feeding the horses.

"*November 28th,* Up again between 3 and 4 A.M. I walked on, and the wagon did not overtake me till I reached Swanapools, where my horses were waiting for us. I had a pleasant walk of two hours. We started immediately, and travelled as usual, till we arrived at the top of the Zunyberg mountains, over which we had to pass, where one of our wheels gave way with a great crash. . . . We walked on till near 9 o'clock. . . I was very tired, and was thankful on arriving at a pool of water to kneel down like the cattle, and drink, but would gladly have given up my place to our poor parched horses, who had no water within several miles of them. . . .

"*November 29th,* Early despatched Ludwig with an ox wagon, and a cask of water for the horses, while I walked on to a wheel-maker. . . . Somewhat crippled with my walk of twenty-five miles yesterday under a hot sun; and having no books, nor any writing materials, my day was but a dull one. I spent the greater part of it under the shade of some mimosa bushes, reviewing my work, meditating upon various subjects, and looking out anxiously for the wagon, which did not return till 9 P.M. It was once upset, which did not improve the condition either of the vehicle or its contents.

"*November 30th,* We find the benefit of carrying provision with us, as we are nearly reduced to living on our own stores. Christian produced an ostrich egg, which he had got from a coloured woman yesterday, and it satisfied the hunger of our whole party. I do not much admire the flavour. . . .

"*December 1st,* Our repairs were finished early this morning, and we got off at 9 o'clock, thankful to get quite out of the Karroo country, which is essentially 'a barren and dry land where no water is.' . . .

"*2nd,* Had oxen to take us over the mountains. I was very glad to find myself in the Lange Kloof; it seemed quite like an old friend, and made us feel we were again approaching home. . . . Arrived at George." . . .

Riversdale, Swellendam, Worcester followed, each affording fresh instances of spiritual destitution, and of the harvest waiting to be reaped by the Church. On December 15th the Bishop rode up Mitchell's Pass to inspect the Convict Station, with which he was pleased, and thought it well disciplined and conducted. He went on to Wellington, and before arriving at Stellenbosch, his heart was gladdened by the far-off sight of Table Mountain, and he rejoiced in tracing the range up to the point where Protea (now *Home*) lay. The Bishop had scarcely reached the inn, when, to his surprise and delight, his wife drove up,[1] and after four months' separation, they met again for two days, after which he had again to continue his Visitation at the Paarl, Malmesbury, etc.; and on the 21st he reached Protea, after a journey of nearly 3,000 miles, during which he had confirmed 900 persons, besides the various other works he had, by God's Grace, been enabled to do for the Church.

To Mrs. WILLIAMSON.

"Protea, December 28th, 1848.

"Dearest Annie—I cannot let the mail go without a line, though I scarce know which way to turn for the press of business which has come upon me since my return home. I arrived here last Monday, after a journey of seventeen weeks and a day. I cannot be too thankful for the restoration of my health, for I am now quite well again, though still suffering from weak eyes. . . . We have a houseful of Clergy and candidates, and like them all much. . . . Wright and Henchman have volunteered for the lepers and convicts in Robben Island. I ordained Dr. Andrews Deacon last Sunday; we were nine Clergy in all at the service, and every one had come out within the year. . . . I had a most kind letter from the Archbishop a few days ago, and a very satisfactory one as to his own line of conduct in the Church. He repudiated with some indignation the charges of an intention to tamper with the Liturgy."

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[1] Mrs. Gray says in a letter to England (December 19th, 1848), "Robert had fixed to spend Sunday at Stellenbosch, which is only twenty-seven miles, but had never hinted at any wish for nearer intercourse. However, I determined, though without leave, to make a push to see him, and with some difficulty persuaded Mr. Badnall to drive me into this terra incognita, on Saturday. We arrived at Stellenbosch about five minutes after the Bishop, with Mr. Green and Mr. Davidson, had taken up their quarters in a little inn, which, though dignified by the name of an "Hotel" in large letters over the door, would have been but a poor public-house in England. The travellers, however, thought it luxury after what they had encountered. They were looking extremely well; Robert grown quite stout again, and very brown or red and healthy looking, also very jolly and in good spirits, and full of jokes. . . . There was, however, not the same improvement in their equipments—the poor wagon which looked so smart when they started, was sadly battered, its wheels all tied up with ropes, and sundry patches and stains in all parts of it. The horses thin but fresh, the men in high favour; but the boxes, bags, dressing-cases, clothes, shoes, etc., showing grievous marks of having been in the wars. The Bishop's two new strong tin boxes, which he got from Cox, all battered to pieces, neither would lock; his black patent leather bags worn into holes; his hat, which was new when he started, looked as if he had played football with it for a month—Mr. Green's still worse—and his shoes had a hole in the sole through which you could put a finger."

To. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Protea, January 11th, 1849.

"My dear Richard—I cannot let the 'Essex' sail without a line, though I cannot write definitely, my mind and my affairs being in a state of great confusion from the very great press of matters which have been weighing on me ever since my return home. I arrived here this day three weeks, and I really feel as if I should never be clear of my load of letters and papers. Every day new questions start up which involve important principles, which I find it very difficult to settle, and tremble to handle. . . . The Archdeacon (Merriman) left us on Saturday last, the Feast of the Epiphany. We all on that day partook of the Holy Communion together at the Cathedral, and I saw him afterwards safe on board his ship. I trust ere this he has arrived in Algoa Bay. He will, I am sure, perhaps amidst some reproaches, do much, if spared, to extend the Kingdom of God in this land, for his whole soul is in the work, and he has great energy and ability. His preaching while here made a great impression. During all the time he was with us we were, of course, much engaged in discussing future plans. He is, I think, quite convinced that he cannot start his proposed College for at least a year. During this time Mr. White will act as Principal of a Collegiate School which I am, I think, likely to start at Protea within two months. Mr. Badnall will be Vice-Principal. . . . They will occupy at first the Mayneer's Cottage,[1] which will only entail a rent of £30. We shall thus begin our Educational work at no great cost, and in a quiet way. As our work enlarges our schemes will be more developed; but we are not very anxious about numbers at first. We shall certainly want one man, and probably two, to fill the office of fellows and tutors. We only propose to give £100 a year as at Radley, out of which battels will be paid. Mr. White will be obliged to go to the East during the winter months, but will return again; he is writing to Sewell, Heathcote, etc. We should wish our Institution to be somewhat similar to Radley, not taking children younger than 10, but keeping them perhaps till 17 or 18, or even longer. . . . It is a disappointment to me not to secure White permanently, but I think he has set his heart on the East, on the score of health chiefly. He may, however, abide with us. The future we are content to leave in some degree of uncertainty. Badnall will always be ready to fill the Principal's place till we have got a man thoroughly to our mind. . . . As for Clergy, I want sadly more of them, but I dare not commission you to engage any. I have not yet been able to prepare all my papers for fresh application to Government; but I have a tolerable list, and it will lead to much discussion. I am just now in trouble about Clergy. . . . I am dismissing another, who appeals to Lord Grey!! What an opening for discussion, and Church and State discord! Lord Grey, I suppose, considered his appeal to you in the case of Mr. —— as obtaining your concurrence. I shall stop him here for a time, but I shall not refuse to license him if his testimonials are satisfactory. His appointment, however, throws £200 a year more upon me, for acting upon Lord Grey's letter to me, I had fixed upon Green for Natal, and devoted the money intended for him to other objects. I hope, however, it will lead to my getting two chaplains. . . . I cannot allow Lord Grey to send into this Diocese men who come for the loaves and fishes. I am quite sure that earnest men would seek employment through the Bishop rather than the Colonial Office. . . . I always require testimonials from you or Coleridge, because I am subjected to applications from all sorts of adventurers. . . . I am just now contesting an important principle, the conveyance of all churches to the See. The existence of our Church in this land depends upon it. I hope it is not too late to put things in almost every case upon a sound footing, but I shall have great trouble and labour, and some abuse, in effecting it. At present there is nothing to prevent several of the churches from being turned into conventicles.

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[1] This cottage was a long range of buildings forming the right hand side of the courtyard of Protea, those on the left hand being offices. Three sides of the Court were shaded by fine oak trees, bearing immense acorns. The cottage was used for the Collegiate School, then for the Kafir schools, and later still for the coloured children on the estate.

"We had, while the Archdeacon was with us, another Synod of the Clergy. We were fifteen in number, one absent from ill health. But so many never met before in Southern Africa. Some very important points came under discussion, involving principles, but we came to no practical decisions. One question was whether we should apply to Government for a Church Ordinance or not; fourteen out of fifteen gave their opinion against our doing so, after long discussions, which led to much change of opinion. In other words, we do not admit that the Colonial Government is in any way to legislate for the internal affairs of our Church. Considering that our future Government is sure to be adverse to the Church, this is a most important question.

"We came to no conclusion as to the steps to be taken for the government of our parishes, but it probably will end in my summoning the *Communicants* to elect their churchwardens. This I apprehend to be according to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Canon, parishioners being of necessity communicants according to the Canons. But I shall proceed cautiously in this matter, although it is one which is being forced upon me. Mr. Montagu, whom I generally consult on all these points, is strongly against an Ordinance. He enters more and more into our work. The Governor, I think, is more afraid to show that he is a Churchman. But I have no reason to complain; he is most kind and anxious to help me in every way."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Protea, January 19th, 1849.

"My dear Edward—I fear I give you a great deal of trouble and anxiety about my financial matters, which I am truly sorry for, but know not how to help. I own I am not free myself from anxiety on this score; but if I am to be *quite sure* of my ground before I move in this Colony, I fear I shall lose opportunities which may never again present themselves. The Diocese of the Cape has this peculiarity to distinguish it from other Colonial Dioceses:—There are towns, or, as we call them, villages, standing, and with considerable populations, in all of which there are many members of the Church, for whose spiritual oversight nothing has hitherto been done. The work which presents itself before me is the immediate supply of these places whose circumstances are very similar. It is not like the Canadas or Australia. What we have to do here is not to supply the wants of a continual tide of emigrants as fast as they arrive, but to plant ministers in towns and villages which have grown up without them, and where the people are making efforts to remedy the evils under which they have long groaned. There can be no doubt that the first visit of a Bishop amongst them has roused feelings, hopes, and expectations, which had almost died away. I must not disappoint them if I can help it, or suffer them to sink again into listless inactivity. I mention these points to excuse myself from seeming want of caution in embarking with small means upon too great an undertaking. I have, however, not altogether forgotten prudential considerations, and I do not think I am at present in danger of the *Gazette* unless my subscriptions fall short. . . . But now I want eight more Clergy, and if I do not soon get them, the cause of the Church will, I fear, be lost in eight important places, for I cannot easily send men to hold services once a month, the stations being generally 200 miles apart." . . .

To the Rev. HENRY GRAY.

"Protea, January 20th, 1849.

"My dear Henry—I feel great comfort in having, after a month's hard labour, wiped off the greater part of my business, which was pressing upon me and wearing me greatly. I trust I shall now have a little time for thought, for reading, writing sermons and letters. But I know not when I may be summoned to S. Helena. I shall put it off if I can till Easter, that I may remain over Lent at my post. We shall, I hope, have a good supply of Lent services. Dr. Camillari is to preach every Wednesday evening on Missions, with special reference to the conversion of the Mahometans. Mr. Newman every Friday on some of the Penitential Psalms, and every day in Holy Week on our Lord's Passion. I trust these services may be blessed to the good of our people. I take the Cathedral generally every other Sunday, and one of the other churches in the neighbourhood on the remaining day. I shall probably go still less to the Cathedral. Wednesdays and Fridays are my week-days there. Mr. Newman turns out to be a popular preacher; he is very much admired; he seems very anxious to do what he can, and I like him, and think he will be a useful man. We are just now, while you are buried in snow, in the very height of our summer. I was walking about Cape Town all day yesterday with the thermometer 91° in the shade; to-day it is 97°, and 140° in the sun; but I do not suffer very much from the heat. . . . Douglas is about to open his store as a school for girls and boys and a place of worship, and I am engaged to preach the opening sermon. He is everything I could wish in a parish priest, and is, in a quiet way, doing much good from house to house. I will undertake to say that no one has ever done so much pastoral work before in Cape Town. He will have for master of his school a local Wesleyan preacher and schoolmaster who has long been feeling his way back to the Church on true Church grounds. He is a man we all like very much, and the Wesleyans are somewhat angry at our getting him. He gives up £100 a year with them for £50 with us, and sinks from a preacher to a schoolmaster; but the thought of being a preacher without a commission pains him now. . . . Ere long I hope we shall be able to start our newspaper. We have found—*i.e.* Montagu has—a Dutchman as a sort of editor. Our arrangements are not complete, but I think we shall be able to manage with a kind of committee who will have the real work to do. Of course I keep out of this. I sent in an awful letter to Government yesterday, asking for

£900 a year for nine Clergymen, and grants of land, and assistance towards churches. Montagu looked very grave after reading it, and the Governor is digesting it to-day. I could have asked for more if I had thought it prudent, but I have already asked for more than I shall get. I hope you will be able to raise something in the old Diocese,[1] though I do not expect much. . . . We hear so constantly from England, and the communication is so regular, that you really seem only, as it were, a step from us; and I am under the necessity of making such long voyages and journeys over the Diocese, that I shall think nothing, some of these days, of a trip to England. I dread more an eight or ten months' campaign in England for the purpose of raising funds for the support of this Mission. It was that that knocked me up."

To the Rev. CHARLES GRAY.

"Protea, January 21st, 1849. . . . I am now likely to be hurried off to S. Helena, after having been at home little more than a month. The Governor wrote to say that he had asked for a steamer, and I rode to Simon's Bay this morning to see the Admiral on the subject. If I go I shall not be back before the middle of April, and shall leave much important work undone here. I ought not to leave home for at least two months, but the difficulty of getting back from S. Helena is so great that I shall probably go now. I feel this second separation from wife and children so soon, after having as it were, just looked at them, very much. But it cannot be helped: 'They that have wives must be as though they had none.' We are now in the height of our summer, and the weather lovely. I am quite fresh this evening after riding 36 miles in the sun, and a tolerable walk since dinner. . . . God helping, we will ere long have a Mission among the poor Kafirs, but I trust we shall get men who will be content to live in a Kafir hut upon £25 a year. I am told that a Missionary can live upon this. The Wesleyans average £300 a year, and grow rich upon it. I am persuaded Missionaries cost far too much, and live far too comfortably. The Archdeacon has already begged me to relieve him of his Archdeaconry, and send him as a Missionary to King William's Town. He is certainly well suited for the work, for he loves these poor heathen, and longs to be amongst them. We are going to have a meeting on Thursday to take steps towards the erection of a small church in Claremont, which is Badnall's parish. He has now a very nice congregation in a schoolroom. I feel much obliged to you for the zeal with which you work for Christ's cause in this part of His Vineyard. I have good hope that your labour will not be thrown away, for those who are supported by the funds you raise are, I trust, earnestly anxious to spread the Truth and Kingdom of our Lord in this land. I do believe much will be done amidst increasing opposition, and perhaps persecution. It is wonderful what a disposition those who are not of us show to pick holes in us, and how utterly they are at a loss what to lay hold of. Not a week passes without some abuse of me in some paper or other, and always for something said or done which is pure fiction."

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[1] Bristol.

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Protea, February 9th, 1849.—I have this day seen a rough draft of the answer to my official letter to Government, in which I brought under their notice the state of the Church in this Colony, and applied for help. . . . The Governor expresses his inability to grant me glebes, and I cannot press the subject now, but I may hereafter, and write to Lord Grey on the subject, inasmuch as I think the Church—considering what has been done for Dutch, Methodists, Independents, Moravians, etc.—is entitled to them. He refuses me sites for schools and parsonages, why, I do not quite know, except that I make large demands, and am not in a condition to build. But he grants me sites for churches wherever I ask, and a fifth of the expense of building them. He grants me also £900 a year for nine Clergymen, and means to lay down the rule which I have been pressing him to do, of giving a fifth to all churches, Dutch and English, and half the stipend of the Clergy; the remainder to be raised from private sources. This will work well for us in the long run, if steadily adhered to. And now, though this is more than I had a right to expect, or even than the Governor may be able to carry, it has made me melancholy, for it has forced upon me my own weakness, and the sad fact that I am pledged to as much as I can with safety promise. Yet there are posts which I *cannot* leave unoccupied. I *must* fill them up, unless you at home think I am incurring responsibilities beyond what I am justified in doing. The new posts which I want to fill are Stellenbosch, Beaufort, Cradock, and Somerset. . . . ———, whom the Low Church party here expected to be the man to beard the Bishop, is being forced by his friends more and more into a Church line. He is, I think, getting quite sick of them, and is a vigorous supporter in ——— of the true Church course. Their disingenuousness and assumption are very offensive. . . . I must have no more Catechists or Candidates for Orders. I had rather wait longer and get duly ordained men. . . . Catechists cost as much as Clergy, or nearly so, and are at best unsatisfactory, and Candidates are very expensive. . . . I expect to sail for S. Helena about the 20th, just one year from the date of my arrival. Thank God much has been done in that year, and the Diocese is, I trust, getting into order. . . . I am sorry, my dear Williamson, to give you so much trouble, but it is for Christ's Body you are working, and He surely accepts the work as done for Him. I would that I could have your counsel here, for I daily feel more keenly my own insufficiency. All sorts of questions press thick upon one, and I feel at every step I take principles are involved and precedents established. The Church should have sent out an abler man here. It is a post that requires the very choicest of her sons, and I feel that I do not and cannot fill it as it ought to be filled. However, amidst much weakness and infirmity, I do desire to spend and be spent in doing my Master's work, and I trust He will forgive what is wrong, and accept of my poor worthless services. I am thankful for such advisers as I have. Badnall is a very sound judging man, and shows more ability than I expected. Davidson, too, is of very great use, and has a great deal of work to do. He wanted me not to pay him, but I have insisted on his taking £100 a year. He earns it well. I do not know what I should do without him. . . . I am willing to run some little risk in engaging men, but you all scold me so for going beyond my means, that I do not wish to act too boldly. Now, however, is our time or never . . . and I am willing, if need be, to go to England when my funds are exhausted, and endure a campaign there for a year, though I think it would go hard with me, for I have had a good deal taken out of me these two years. . . . The dear children are full of health and spirits. Sophy is languid from heat. I am in vigour, but careworn. The climate is wonderful.—Your affectionate, R. CAPETOWN."

In vigour he had need be, for the pressure of work was destined rather to increase than diminish. Careworn who could wonder that the Bishop was, amid the bodily fatigues and mental anxieties which have been but partially set forth in the preceding pages? But he did not ask rest—his was a spirit that needed to be up and doing, for his dear Lord's Sake; and truly it was so to the very end.

CHAPTER V.

FEBRUARY, 1849, TO JANUARY, 1852.

VOYAGE TO S. HELENA—FIRST VISITATION THERE—SIR PATRICK ROSS—EMANCIPATED SLAVES—VISIT TO A SLAVE-SHIP—DEPARTURE FROM S. HELENA—LETTERS ON BOARD THE "GEYSER"—RETURN TO CAPE TOWN—PROPOSAL TO SEND CONVICTS TO CAPE TOWN—ANTI-CONVICT AGITATION—CLASS OF CLERGY REQUIRED FOR AFRICAN WORK—LOCAL AFFAIRS—CLERGY GRANTS—PRECEDENCE QUESTION—*ISMS*—ARCHDEACON MERRIMAN—SHORT VISITATION—DUTCH FARM-HOUSES—THE KNYSNA—PASTORAL WORK—BEGINNING OF 1850—LETTERS TO ENGLAND—VISITATION OF NATAL—BISHOP GRAY'S LOVE OF ANIMALS—BEAUFORT—RICHMOND—COLESBERG—BLOEMFONTEIN—VISIT TO THE CHIEFS MAROKKO AND MELITZANI—LOST IN THE MOUNTAINS—THE DRAKENBERG—PERILOUS TRAVELLING—BUSHMAN'S DRIFT—MARITZBURG—D'URBAN—PROPOSED MISSION PLANS—VISIT TO AMERICAN STATIONS—JOURNEY TO KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—DANGERS AND UPSETS—CONVERSATION WITH KAFIRS—PALMERSTON—KEI RIVER—EAST LONDON—VISIT TO THE CHIEF UMHALLA—FORT PEDDIE—GRAHAM'S TOWN—DECLARATION OF BISHOP AND CLERGY CONCERNING CONVOCATION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—PORT ELIZABETH—KAMA'S TOWN—CRADOCK—MORE TRAVELLING ADVENTURES—GRAF REINET—SOMERSET—UITENHAGE—PLETTENBURG BAY—CONFIRMATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE—MELVILLE—GEORGE—APPOINTMENT OF MR. WELBY AS ARCHDEACON—SWELLENDAM—SUBDIVISION OF THE DIOCESE NEEDED—RETURN TO CAPE TOWN—CHRISTMAS-DAY 1850—OUTBREAK OF THE KAFIR WAR—LETTERS CONCERNING IT—DANGERS OF CLERGY—MARRIAGE LAWS—PROPOSED BISHOPRIC OF GRAHAM'S TOWN—SECESSIONS FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT HOME—DANGERS OF STATE AGGRESSION—PAPAL AGGRESSION EXCITEMENT—PURCHASE OF PROTEA—DIOCESAN SYNOD—PASTORAL LETTER.

AS the Bishop mentioned in his last letters to England, he was again about to set forth on his travels, and to visit the Island of S. Helena, a voyage of about 2,000 miles from the Cape. He sailed on the 22nd February from Simon's Town, in H.M. steam frigate "Geyser," Captain Brown, to whose kindliness and courtesy, as well as that of the ship's officers, the Bishop makes several allusions in letters and Journal. He said the daily offices of the Church morning and evening, which all the officers and as many of the crew as possible attended; and a more orderly and attentive congregation, the Bishop remarks, he had never seen. "I still retain my great dislike to the sea," he wrote, however, "and feel, away from all that are dear to me, very dull, amidst much attention and kindness." A letter to one of his brothers during the voyage shows how his mind was still full of his diocesan cares.

To William Gray, Esq.

"At sea, H.M. ship 'Geyser,' March 2nd, 1849. . . . You will have heard how we fare from Edward and others, to whom I write more frequently on matters of business, which they were indiscreet enough to undertake for me, little suspecting, perhaps, the amount of labour it would entail upon them. Indeed, my correspondence is so incessant, in and out of the Diocese, that I loathe the sight of paper and ink. . . . I am now on my way from the Cape to S. Helena, for my first Visitation of that island, in a steam frigate, with an excellent commander and a set of officers who are very obliging. In my solitude I manage to get a little reading, which at home I have no time for. The drilling on board is incessant; every sailor now is not only practised at the guns, but expected to be a proficient in the use of the musket and sword, and they march and countermarch daily on deck. I am to spend a month at S. Helena, during which the 'Geyser' will cruise on the coast of Africa for slavers, and then return and carry me back to the Cape. Were it not for this arrangement, I should have great difficulty in getting back; for although hundreds of ships touch at the island on their way home, there are perhaps not six in the year who pass from it to the Cape.

"I do not suppose that you take much interest in Cape politics. We are, however, in daily expectation of hearing that Lord Grey has, upon the Governor's recommendation, granted a representative government to the Colony. There is a rumour indeed, that he hesitates to do so, which I hope is true, for the Colony is undoubtedly not ripe for one. The races should be more equally balanced before a great change takes place. . . . I get on very well with the powers that be. . . . Mr. Montagu is almost everything I could wish—highminded, generous, disinterested—his place could not easily be supplied. . . . I always consult him on Church matters, and as a friend keep back nothing from him. He is an excellent adviser, but he would not, were I to ask him (which I would not) do anything for the Church which would be unjust or unfair, much as he desires to see her cause flourish."

To Mr. Mowbray (also while on board the "Geyser") the Bishop writes: "I left dear Sophy and the children quite well; she, however, felt my second departure alone, so soon after my return home, very much. But I am now realising that Scripture that 'they that have wives must be as though they had none.' The day before I left was the anniversary of my arrival in the Colony. It so happened that the Governor on that day laid the foundation stone of a new church at Rondebosch, which will be the best ecclesiastical structure in the Diocese. There were about sixteen Clergy present in their surplices. I have adopted the service used in the Diocese of Exeter, with some slight alterations."

The "Geyser" reached S. Helena on March 7th, and Captain Knipe, A.D.C. to the Governor, Sir Patrick Ross, came on board at once to receive the Bishop, and conduct him to Plantation House, the Governor's residence. The Bishop declined the honour of an intended salute, but gladly accepted the hospitality of Sir Patrick, with whom he established a firm friendship, as with the other members of the Ross family. The Bishop's letters show that his time in S. Helena was not more idly spent than elsewhere.

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"S. Helena, March 30th, 1849.

"My dear Edward . . . I have not had time to write a single *letter* during the month I have been here, and the ten days which I have still to remain will be absorbed in writing and in public services. It is quite singular to find such an amount of work to be done in this little place; but so it is, and I trust much will be effected in a great measure through the kind assistance of that most excellent man, Sir Patrick Ross, the Governor, whose guest I am, and of whose family I have become for the time almost a member. Nothing indeed can exceed their kindness and attention. On my landing he had ordered a salute, which I declined; then he held a levée, at which the whole of the respectable inhabitants of the island were present. His carriage and horses have been at my disposal ever since, and with him I have returned the calls of all the good folks. We have had one Confirmation for communicants, when 111 were admitted; next week we shall have about 250 non-communicants confirmed. A great deal of my labour has arisen from the necessity of repealing ordinances of this Government which interfere with the laws and Canons of the Church. All this I hope to get through before I leave, though ——— snarls and opposes, he having a party to back him. All the churches, churchyards, etc., which belonged to Government I have got conveyed to the See, and shall consecrate them next week; and I hope to see a good deal done for the improvement of Church Education, for which there are ample funds misapplied. . . . The examination into the whole state of education in the island has been very laborious and unsatisfactory. . . I have been writing too a Charge suited to the practical circumstances of the island. . . . Unfortunately for the first time schism began in this island two or three years ago, by an emissary from the Cape, and I find him now in full confidence of success. He has started a church of his own, and is an Anabaptist on principle. His success is chiefly with the poor, and he is a thorn in the side of the Church. But God brings good out of evil, and the members of the Church here have been led to examine the grounds of their own faith, and many have been led to take a deeper interest in religious matters; and I am seizing the opportunity for bringing forward something like Church discipline, and calling upon the laity to take a greater share in the work of the Church than they have hitherto done. All our places of worship, and there are five, are attended by crowded congregations, and I do hope a great deal may be done for the revival of religion throughout the island. The people are, however, all very poor."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Plantation House, March 30th, 1849.

"My dearest Annie—Though I have but half-an-hour, and have before me a heap of official letters to be copied out, I cannot refrain from writing a few lines to you by the 'Monarch,' having received a packet yesterday. Nothing could be more kind than Sir Patrick Ross and his family have been, and I really should have been quite happy during my visit to this sweet island, had dearest Sophy been with me, but being quite alone amongst strangers, without even a line from any who are dear to me, I have been low and dull amidst unlooked-for kindness. However, I am repeatedly led to feel in my wanderings how true the promise[1] is in S. Mark x. 29, 30. But neither, amidst the gracious sayings therein made good, is the drawback wanting. There is always more or less of 'persecution.' For much, very much, however, I have great reason to be thankful. There are some very beautiful parts in this rocky island. Plantation House is like a choice English gentleman's seat, with nice wooded walks, and a fine view of the sea, along which all the ships sailing for England pass, just before my bedroom window. Sandy Bay is a lovely spot, which it is impossible to describe, with hills or mountains tossing about in every variety of shape, some bare and barren, some clothed with verdure or plantations. Longwood has nothing very interesting about it. I preached yesterday in Napoleon's billiard-room, which I am licensing for Divine service—not in the old house where he lived, but in the new one built for him, which is an excellent house. James Town is singularly situated in a little narrow valley between hills perfectly bare and bleak, up which all must climb who would get into the country.

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[1] "Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Sake and the Gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time . . . with persecutions; and in the world to come Eternal Life."

"I have had a great deal of work to do since I have been here, and have still much to do. One of the most painfully interesting visits I have paid was to the establishment of emancipated slaves. About 3,000 of them are brought by our cruisers every year to the island. Half of them fall ill, many die. Out of 600 that I saw more than 300 were in hospital, pitiable objects. Nothing is done by way of instructing them. I am writing to Lord Grey to beg he will sanction the appointment of a teacher. I went on board a slaver brought in last week. There were 560 in a little schooner of 100 tons. Poor things! my heart bled for them. I never before felt so powerfully the call to be a Missionary, and resolved, God helping, to make redoubled efforts for beginning a Church Mission in Africa. Many thanks for your collection for the Kafirs."

To Dr. Williamson the Bishop wrote a fuller account of his Visitation, desiring him to send it to Mr. Hawkins for the benefit of S. P. G., if he thought it desirable. This letter was accordingly published. In the private postscript to it the Bishop says: "I trust I may be left for a time at the Cape in quiet. But I fear ere long I must go to Natal, and Mauritius ought to be visited while those excellent people the Gomms are there. I shall not, however, go there, though Hawkins puts it, with the Seychelles, in my Diocese in the S. P. G. Report, unless I find a letter from him or the Archbishop requesting me to do so. We ought to be prepared to strengthen our work there, at the Seychelles, Comoro Islands, and, above all, Madagascar, which is a most interesting field, and will ere long be opened out again."

Some extracts from the main substance of the letter may be interesting as showing the then state of things in S. Helena.

. . . "I have been busily employed every day in visiting the parishioners, assisting the Clergy in preparing candidates for Confirmation, confirming, consecrating the Church and various churchyards, examination of schools, preaching, and in business arising out of the Visitation, such as the repeal of local ordinances, which interfered with the Bishop's office in the conveyance of the Churches and burial-grounds (all of which were still in the hands of Government) to the See;—in remodelling and placing upon a sounder and more extended footing the Church Society, and I trust also another very important ecclesiastical association called the Benevolent Society. . . . There are four Clergymen now belonging to the island . . . the fourth is Mr. Frey, whom I had much satisfaction in ordaining to the holy office of Deacon. . . . He was formerly a German Missionary in India. . . . He is now master of the Country Government School. He will strictly confine himself to the duties which properly belong to the Diaconate, continuing in his office of teacher, and devoting his days after 2 P.M. to visiting the poor, many of whom, especially those who were slaves, are very ignorant. . . . The island still greatly needs another Clergyman, who should devote much of his time to visiting the poor from house to house. The rugged and mountainous nature of the country, coupled with the very great heat of the climate, renders it impossible for a Clergyman to do as much parochial work here as in England. . . .

"You are aware that this is a great depôt for Africans captured from slavers. About 3,000 of these poor creatures are landed on this island every year. Of these nearly one-half suffer in health from the hardships they endure from their inhuman tyrants, and about one-fourth are very heavily afflicted. I accompanied his Excellency a few days ago in a visit to their village or establishment in Rupert's Valley. If anything were needed to fill the soul with burning indignation against that masterwork of Satan, the slave-trade, it would be a visit to this institution. There were less than 600 poor souls in it at the time of my visit; of these more than 300 were in hospital, some afflicted with dreadful ophthalmia, others with severe rheumatism, others with dysentery, the number of deaths in the week being twenty-one. I think I have seldom beheld a more deplorable spectacle. I was pained, too, to find that no effort is made to instruct these poor things during the time they are in the island; and the more so, because the Superintendent informed me that they show a great aptitude for instruction, and have a strong desire for it. The lack of employment, too, for their minds has a bad effect upon their health and spirits; so that when sickness overtakes them, they sink at once into a settled melancholy, and some commit suicide, partly from lowness of spirits, partly because, poor souls! they imagine that after death they will return to their much-loved home and fatherland. The least thought must convince any one that the healthy exercise of their minds would be of great service to them in every way; and it is sad to think that our Government should spend £10,000 a year on this institution, and between £300,000 and £400,000 in support of the squadron, and yet not allow the trifling sum which would be needful to supply them with a teacher. Mr. Frey, whom I have just ordained, did at one time undertake the work, and with some success; but Government would not sanction the appropriation of a stipend.

"A day or two after I had visited Rupert's Valley, a slave ship was brought in captured by one of our cruisers. She was a schooner of about 100 tons, and had 560 slaves on board. I went to see them that I might more fully realise their condition. The cargo was a particularly healthy one, the number of deaths being only about one a day. Two were lying dead upon the deck, and one had the day before jumped overboard. Everything was done by the officers and crew in charge to keep the ship clean; but you can conceive better than I can describe what the condition of such a mass of human beings must be in so small a space. The deck was entirely covered with them. They had a worn look and wasted appearance, and were moved into the boats like bales of goods, apparently without any will of their own. I crept down between decks to the place where they are usually stowed away. It might be between three and four feet high, and the atmosphere was most offensive, although not occupied by one-third of the usual number. The condition, however, of a slave ship has been too often described to make it necessary for me to enlarge upon it. I shall only say, I never beheld a more piteous sight,—never looked upon a more affecting scene,—never before felt so powerful a call to be a Missionary. I did not quit that ship without having resolved more firmly than ever that I would, with the Grace and Help of God, begin as speedily as possible direct Mission work in South Africa; and that I would never cease entreating of the Mother Church the needful supply of men and means, that the reproach may be wiped off, which, alas! still attaches to us, of being almost the only body of Christians in this great Diocese which is not engaged in the work of the conversion of the Heathen."

On the last day of his sojourn in S. Helena the Bishop wrote to Mrs. Mowbray: "I embark this morning. I should have done so after Divine Service last night, instead of riding up here (Plantation House), but the gentry of the island expressed a hope I would not steal away from them in the dark, so I am to have a public departure as well as a public reception, and be attended to the shore by a crowd. I have been here now nearly six weeks, and I trust it has pleased God, through means of His own appointed Ordinances, though administered by feeble hands, to do much good. Indeed my whole experience since I have been in this Diocese shows in a very remarkable way the life and power there is in the simple administration of Divinely-appointed ordinances. The Church here has, I trust, received an impulse, and I cannot but hope new life has been infused into it; and God is, I trust, building up the spiritual temple while His servants are aiming at the erection of the material fabric, and the enlargement of His visible Kingdom. Two Churches and a School Oratory are taken in hand, after which two more remain to be accomplished. I feel much interest in the people here. They really seem very well inclined, and I rejoice to welcome so many coloured people, (for whom I have an especial tenderness) as brethren in Christ. The respect shown to my office is all that could be wished, and the kindness of people, especially that of the dear good excellent Governor and his family, very great. I believe we shall all feel to-day as if some member of the family was going away.

Indeed I have been spoilt here for the rough handling I am likely to meet with on my return to the Cape, where the whole discussion concerning ecclesiastical grants will be renewed.

"I shall not be sorry for a few quiet days, after the incessant toil of the last six weeks, and preparatory to the anxious work which awaits me at the Cape, where I trust it may please God to bring me in safety, and permit me once more to embrace my dearest wife and children, after more than two months' absence. She has not heard from me since I left, and will now be expecting me every hour, as I am more than a fortnight behind my time. The laity here are going to publish a history of my Visitation, and have requested copies of my Charges to Clergy and candidates. The former was hastily drawn up, and contains strong matter, yet I think I must submit. I will tell them to send copies to England. My Charge was begun as a mere private letter. The people, however, will be disappointed if they do not have everything. I have been asked about sermons, but have got off from them."

The Bishop's departure (on April 16th, 1849) produced an expression of kindly feeling which touched his tender loving heart deeply. A large body of the authorities, the Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, etc., all the Clergy, and crowds of others, attended him to the shore, expressing strong gratitude and affection for one whose every action had proved the reality of his name—their Father in God. The Clergy, as well as his more intimate friends among the laity, went on board the "Geyser" with the Bishop, and before returning to shore, presented him with an address, which ends as follows:—"Whilst reviewing the firmness and delicacy with which the high and sacred functions of a Bishop have been introduced among a people to whom they were before unknown, we cannot but most heartily record our gratitude to the Great Head of the Church for directing the choice of our rulers to one endowed with such qualities of mind and heart—qualities which lend a peculiar grace to every act of authority and render obedience on our part only a privilege. Our gratitude for the many marks of your Lordship's personal kindness and regard will be best evinced by following up with our flock that vigour and earnestness in the service of our common Lord which has been so singularly exemplified throughout the whole period of your Visitation. We heartily pray that the Almighty Giver of all good things may grant to your Lordship length of days, and every good gift for the continued exercise of your high office; and with all affectionate reverence we would say, Father, Farewell!"

We find one or two interesting letters written during the Bishop's passage to Cape Town.

To the Rev. HENRY GRAY.

"At Sea, H.M.S. 'Geyser,' April 23rd, 1849.

"My dear Henry—I had intended to write to you on your birthday, but I was too ill even to think of you, for I have suffered more on this voyage than on any other. You have now entered on your forty-second year, and I am fast approaching forty. How rapidly life is passing on! May we, my dear brother, each be preparing for eternity. The wrench which separated me from home and so many who are dear, and the many calls of duty which compel me to become a wanderer upon earth, away from dearest wife and children, do, I think, contribute to wean me from the world, and make me, I trust, more alive to things eternal. Certainly, except for the sake of wife and little ones, I have no desire to live one day longer than I may be useful in advancing Christ's Cause and Kingdom upon earth; and I often think that this will not be very long, for my capacity for the great work which lies before a Bishop in this Diocese falls so very far short of what is needed, that I am at times much distressed to find myself in the very responsible position in which I am placed. However, for some of the very rough work which a first Bishop must go through, which requires no extraordinary gifts, but physical power and energy, I have perhaps some little qualification; and a sense of this, together with the recollection of the way in which I shrank from the office, which was really thrust upon me, often consoles me amidst a growing sense of incompetency and insufficiency. I trust you will continue to pray for me, for I need such support, and I daily feel that the prayers of God's people help me on my way. . . . I had an affecting parting from many at S. Helena. The circumstances of the island, together with its being a first Visitation, compelled me to speak upon subjects I would gladly have been silent on—I mean the nature and constitution of the Church, the office and authority of a Bishop in the Church of God, the succession of the ministry, schism, etc. I do not mean that these were exclusive subjects (God forbid !); but I was compelled to speak out on these points more plainly than I have ever done before, and I really believe much to the furtherance of Christ's cause."

To the Rev. CHARLES GRAY.

"H.M. Ship 'Geyser,' April 24th, 1849.

"My dear Charles—I avail myself of the quiet of my ship, now that I am able to exert myself, to write to you. I felt much on quitting S. Helena, knowing how seldom I can visit it, and seeing how much there yet remained to be done. . . . A large party of gentlemen accompanied me to the ship, and we had a very affecting parting—the Clergy presenting me with a little address. . . . They are excellent men, doing God's work zealously; and it is not unnatural, I think, that having lived in daily intercourse with each other for about six weeks, we should feel parting, to meet no more at least for two or three years. I have been very poorly since I came on board, but have read as much as my weak eyes would admit of. The Dutch Testament, Bishop Corrie's *Life*, and William Allen the Quaker's, Stanley's *Apostolical Age*,[1] Freeman's *Mission at Madagascar*, and Poole's *Holy Eastern Church*, have been my chief studies. What a striking contrast between Corrie's religious life and W. Allen's, and yet both were eminently holy. I have been much moved at comparing my own unprofitable life and manifold shortcomings with their earnestness and devotion to the one work of a Christian's life. Some men, however, seem to have the faculty of turning every moment and every part of their intercourse with their fellow-men to the best account. I suppose it is because they are so much in earnest that they never miss an opening. In my poor way I have been trying what little I could do for the souls of those on board, but it is very difficult to get at people. I have, however, had some conversation with a few. Captain Browne is very kind in affording me every facility, and his cabin is quite at my disposal. I am just now preparing some, both officers and men, for a Confirmation[1] which I propose holding, *Deo volente*, on Friday next, on board ship. This has brought me to close quarters with some, and, I trust, poor fellows! it may be blessed to them."

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[1] These books were lent to the Bishop by Miss Ross, the Governor's daughter. In a letter, dated May 10th, 1849, he thanks her for them, saying: "I was much interested in Stanley's book. There are here and there views, not passages, that I should except to, as for instance that of the Apostleship springing out of great qualifications for the office, rather than from a commission to exercise it. And there seem to me to be indications of views not fully developed, perhaps not matured, which might be dangerous. Still the book is a very instructive one, and I shall order it."

To Mrs. Webb.

"At Sea, April 28th, 1849.—My dear Mary . . . I rather dread the worries and anxieties which I know await me at the Cape. It ought not to be so, and it betokens a want of confidence and filial trust in God, Whose I am, and Whom alone I desire to serve; but the weight upon my mind from so many and such varied causes is almost at times greater than I can bear. I trust, my dear Mary, that I shall have the comfort of your prayers and those of all who feel an interest in me or my work. It is a very great comfort to me to know that I am remembered in the intercession of God's people."

On Sunday (third Sunday after Easter) the 29th April, the Bishop landed at Table Bay just in time to go to the Cathedral service and give thanks for his safe return. He lost no time in resuming work, for he preached that very morning. He found all his immediate belongings well. He had presented himself quite unexpectedly to his wife in the Sunday school at Claremont, where he was sure of finding her;—but the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was dangerously ill with a carbuncle, and the Bishop's first act was to appoint prayers to be offered for him throughout the Diocese. He was constantly with Lady Smith, and wished to minister to the sick man, but the doctors would not allow the Bishop to see him at first. However, after a few days the Governor sent an orderly for him, and they met again.

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[1] In a letter to Sir Patrick Ross, written after his return to Protea (May 10th, 1849), the Bishop alludes to this Confirmation, saying he supposed it to be perhaps the first held on board a man-of-war.

The cares and anxieties to which the Bishop had looked forward were not wanting on his arrival. It seems to have been his peculiar lot all his life to have to contend against the State's attempts to encroach upon and trammel the Church. The first thing he heard now was that the local Government was in doubt as to fulfilling the promise of a grant of £100 a year each to the Clergy for whom he had written to England. The cause of this (he privately tells Dr. Williamson) was that "Lord Grey has written urging the Government to place all religious bodies upon the same footing, and in consequence of this despatch the Attorney-General has received instructions to draw up an ordinance to meet Lord Grey's views. I have vehemently remonstrated. If not withdrawn, I hope the Bill will be thrown out. I found this awaiting me on my return. The principles laid down would include the support of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Heathenism, and indeed the Attorney-General has given his opinion that the two former should be supported. Pray keep this to yourself. I scarce know what to do. It would be good policy to endeavour to enter into an alliance with the Dutch Church, and perhaps I may. But I am afraid of compromising principle if I get too closely connected with any other body. The Government here wrote a despatch to Lord Grey, making their stand where I thought they only could, considering the precedents established throughout the Colonial Empire, viz. in the support of the Church of England, Dutch, Romanists, and Scotch Establishment. These are all recognised as Churches in Europe. If this line is passed, all the twenty sects in this Colony must be supported, and Mahometans and Jews! It is awful to think of it. We shall have some fearful discussions and disputes. We are soon to have our Legislative Assembly. We are also to be turned into a penal Colony, and have 1,000 convicts. I wish to protest in some way against this, but the Colonists are so violent about it that I scarce know in what way to do so. Perhaps I may join with the Clergy. . . . I send you Lord Grey's letter to me about appointments, and one I am sending to him. My plan is to write civilly, courteously to him, but to act independently of him. I therefore keep him informed of all I do, and the reasons for it, lest he turn upon me. This Government puts everything upon a right footing, but, thank God, we are daily establishing sound precedents and principles. . . . The military chaplains are appointed by Fox Maule, from the War-Office; Gleig looks out for them, and I do not wish to interfere. He has written to me about the two last appointed. . . . Many thanks, my dear brother, for your exertions. The mass of letters I found here on my return affected me deeply, and all of an encouraging nature. I am now overwhelmed with work. Affairs at home interest me deeply; but I have not time to look into the papers, or write sermons, which distresses me, for I preach twice every Sunday old sermons at one church or another. I want Dansey's *Horæ Decanicæ Ruralis.* Can you get me any hints about the practical working of the Rural Deans' office? I have now made four Rural Deans—Cape Town, George, Natal, and S. Helena. I do not like to fill up offices before we feel the want of them. I trust to ordain three Deacons on Trinity Sunday. Remember that what I want are plain, sensible, earnest hard-working Curates, who can be trusted alone."

The proposal made by the Colonial Office in England to send convicts to the Cape roused, as the Bishop has said, a most furious storm of resentment in the Colony. "The whole Colony," he wrote, May 29th, "is rising up just now in indignant hostility to Lord Grey, for his plan of sending out convicts;

I have summoned the Clergy, and we have memorialised the Governor. There cannot be a greater mistake than to send them to this Colony, on *every* ground. But the question is too large a one to enter into. I allude to it, however, because, if persevered in, which I think it will not be, Lord Grey should undoubtedly place the means at my disposal of giving them religious instruction. Without he does, they will have none. He means to scatter them over the Colony. Up to this period the ministrations of religion have been confined almost exclusively to the Dutch language. The Dutch ministers have immense parishes, and officiate in Dutch. The Missionaries, for the most part, are foreigners—Berlin, Moravia, Basle, Paris Society men; and where this is not the case, and they are English, confine their labours professedly to the heathen, and minister in Dutch. And as yet, between Cape Town and Graaff Reinet—500 miles on the one side—and Cape Town and George—300 on the other—there is not a single English Clergyman. It is only by aiding me in extending the ministrations of the Church according to a certain definite scale, that he can in any way meet the wants he is creating." Again, in the beginning of July the Bishop wrote: "Pray, if you can, induce Gladstone, Palmer, or Cardwell, to raise up their voices against sinking this to a penal settlement. The whole Colony is furious from one end to the other on the subject. I believe if they were strong enough they would resist the intrusion by force of arms. . . . I feel as strongly as any man the deep injustice of making it a penal settlement in spite of the remonstrances of the whole population, and I have, with the Clergy, memorialised his Excellency on the subject. But I have taken care to let it be seen that I have no sympathy with the spirit which has been evoked, nor with the disloyal and rebellious language which has been adopted. It is most absurd to talk of sending convicts to this Colony for reformation; it seems to have been quite overlooked that the language is for the most part a foreign one."

A very touching and characteristic act on the Bishop's part was done under the influence of this feeling of loyalty to the powers of the Government, even while condemning their policy and seeking to alter it. "The people have behaved very ill," he wrote to his brother Charles, June 27th, 1849, "to Sir Harry Smith, who has written as strong a letter to Lord Grey as he well could. They would resist the importation by force of arms, I believe, if they had the power to do so. Their language is most disloyal and rebellious. When Sir H. Smith made his appearance for the first time in public on the day of the Queen's Accession at a ball which he gave, many sent him insulting refusals to attend, and tried to intimidate all who were inclined to go. I had refused on the ground that I go to no balls; but when Majesty was to be insulted in the person of its Representative, I asked leave to withdraw my refusal, and went with wife and chaplains to welcome our gallant Governor on his first appearance in public. I heard 'God save the Queen,' and 'See the Conquering Hero comes,' and then retired as soon as I could get my carriage. Perhaps you may think differently from me, but I felt it a *duty* to go, and therefore constrained myself. People are very angry with me about it. I was determined it should be seen we were loyal subjects, and the Governor is very grateful for it. . . . Lord Grey has most assuredly adopted a most unjustifiable course, and done much mischief thereby to the people by the evil passions he has roused." Probably this was the only ball that the Bishop of Cape Town ever appeared at, and it deserves to be remembered.

Troubles of many kinds surrounded the Bishop besides this, chiefly arising either from the want of men, or from those whom he found incapable, or those who, having been sent to him, proved failures. He had quite come to the conclusion by this time that it was a mistake to send out many Catechists, whose expense to the struggling finance of the African Church was almost as heavy as those of Priests, and their services, of course, in every way, far less valuable. "I am sick of Catechists!" he exclaims in one letter (June 4th, 1849). "We have to *make* them when they come. I had much rather wait a little longer for men already made." Neither did experience encourage him to wish candidates for ordination to be sent to him. "There can be no greater mistake," he writes, "than to suppose that inferior men will do for this Colony. The Clergy are, and will continue to be, 100 to 200 miles from each other, and must be such as can be left to act alone, and be fair representatives of the English Church in the presence of very respectable Dutch ministers." And in another letter he says: "I had no sooner got into the interior of the Colony, than I found that Catechists were not the men for us—that if our Church was to be planted in this land, it must be by zealous, judicious Clergymen. Everywhere I found men of education and intelligence in our own communion, who, for lack of means of grace, had availed themselves of the ministrations of the Dutch, Wesleyans, Independents. Everywhere these people were anxious for *Clergymen* of their own Church, and everywhere raised subscriptions for *Clergymen*. . . . It is not that there is not work for these men—God knows there is enough for all!—but the Catechist can only be sent to an inferior place, and with my small means I am most anxious to occupy the towns and great villages first. As it now is, however, a Catechist costs me more than a Clergyman. He will not do for a chief post; he cannot be trusted in it, and yet he swallows up all the small means at my disposal. Pray, therefore, do not send me any more. . . . I would rather henceforth have nothing but plain, hardworking, right-minded Curates. Everything depends upon the style of men whom I send forth. The posts are trying and difficult, requiring zeal, judgment, and bodily activity. I would rather wait one or two years than get a wrong man."

Again: "Sentimental men are the last that will do any real good in such a land as this. . . . What we want is a body of men who will work under every discouragement and disadvantage, and not theorise. There is quite enough here to encourage men whose minds are in a healthy state, and quite enough to rouse them to exertion; but there is at the same time quite enough to discourage and disgust morbid souls. Men had better not come than come expecting anything but work, or they will be grievously disappointed." The whole subject of ecclesiastical grants, too, remained an open and vexed question, and while it remained so the Bishop knew that precious time was slipping away, the effects of which, if lost, could never be repaired. So, while officials looked upon him as an insatiable beggar, and his own family and friends as a reckless spendthrift in good works, the "hungry flock" which looked up to him, and (unlike that of Milton) *were* fed, ofttimes grumbled because he could not do more for them. "You all think," he writes to one of his brothers, "that I have been attempting too much—people here think I have done but little for them, and are more apt to reproach me for inactivity than anything else. As men arrive, indeed, they are seen in Cape Town for a few days, but they soon pass away, and move off to their distant fields of labour, and nobody hears anything more of them, or troubles his head to think how they are to be maintained." It was often difficult to decide whether men who offered themselves should be accepted or not. Thus: "I have had an application from Mr. —— to come out. . . His mind was shaken Romewards, but he says he is quite settled now. I must be cautious, for one secession would throw back our work here for years; and yet I ought not hastily to reject a good man, who is willing to work in the Lord's Vineyard, looking for his reward above."

Mission work was going on: "On Whitsun Day I baptized seventeen adult heathen in the Cathedral, making a total of about seventy in that church since I arrived, including three Mahometans. The baptized are kept in three classes for further instruction. We shall not lose sight of them until after their Confirmation, and I trust not then. Dr. Camillari is going on very quietly and judiciously with his Mahometan Mission. He is obliged to be cautious in his way of dealing with the people, and is approaching them not only in person, but by endeavouring to interest their masters and employers, several of whom meet him in class to receive instruction as to the best method of dealing with their servants." Active legal work, too, was rife. "I am working hard at conveyances," the Bishop says soon after his return to the Cape; "always pushing Davidson about them till he is as near worked out and distracted as myself. I am getting churches, schools, land, all I can, conveyed to the See, but it is infinitely laborious work . . . Would that I could read the books you send me. But I never read! My papers even lie unopened about me. I do nothing but write or talk business. If I am spared for another year things will be different."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Protea, June 4th, 1849.

. . . "I cannot be too thankful for the result of the efforts made by my dear friends and relations for this Diocese last year. It has cheered my mind greatly amidst the daily increasing anxieties of my office. . . . I am now, thank God, quite well. Anxieties and worries alone upset me,—they rob me of my sleep; but I am giving up working at night. Indeed my eyes will not stand it. Sophy reads to me, though her eyes are weak; and what between (as I tell her) her sweet monotone, and the absence of all exciting cause, I occasionally yield to the family infirmity! You need not fear overwork—it is not work that affects me—I am never tired in body or mind by mere exertion. It is only when things go wrong that my head suffers. . . . The Governor is getting better;—still in his bedroom. He *will* worry his mind about the convicts. . . . Tell the family I will write to them, one and all, as I can find time. I am weak enough to be much affected in this distant land with the letters I receive from many who are dear to me, all breathing so affectionate a spirit; but I do not regret my expatriation so far as I am myself concerned at all. Were I but convinced that it was for the good of the Church, I should be satisfied; but I had no idea of the demands upon a first Colonial Bishop until they came upon me, and I feel every hour I live increasingly my own utter incompetency. On this ground alone I could wish to be in a little village cure, which is best suited to my capacity."

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Protea, June 11th, 1849.

. . . "The Bill for endowing all sects will be introduced, but we hope also thrown out. . . . At present we are tolerably clear of men, having only —— to drill. It is quite a luxury to have our house clear. We are availing ourselves of the opportunity to invite the neighbourhood. No one asks us, as we are considered too great people! but they expect us to ask them. We were some time finding this out, though Frere tried to impress us with it. The Governor mends very slowly. I have been praying with him, and administered the Holy Communion to him and Lady Smith on Sunday."

To the Rev. Ernest Hawkins.

"Cape Town, June 20th, 1849.

. . . "I have lately appointed Mr. Newman, Chaplain of the Cathedral, Rural Dean of the Cape District. The Clergy are to meet once a month in the vestry of the Cathedral, and attend Divine Service previous to entering upon their deliberations. The subject for discussion at their first meeting is to be the best mode of fulfilling the requirements of the Church with respect to sponsors. In this land we have many difficulties with regard to them, which are not so deeply felt in a country altogether Christian. Doctrinal subjects are not to be discussed at these Decanal Chapters. . . . The numbers that attend daily prayers at the Cathedral have not increased, but the weekly Communions are very encouraging. . . . Our Collegiate School was opened during my absence at S. Helena. It is held partly under my roof and partly in premises adjoining. We cannot accommodate very many, but our candidates for admission appear likely to increase so rapidly that we shall probably be obliged to engage a larger house until we can raise funds for erecting a building. . . . I have appointed Mr. Green, who went round the Colony with me last year as Chaplain, Rector of the Capital of Natal, Pieter Maritzburg, and Rural Dean . . . he officiates four times every Sunday,—once in Dutch."

To the Rev. CHARLES GRAY.

"Protea, June 27th, 1849.

"My dear Charles . . . My last great anxiety was an Ordinance laid upon the table of the Legislative Council last week by the Attorney-General. It was professedly prepared to meet Lord Grey's views, and supported all bodies *calling themselves* Christians, whether Christians or not, and laid down principles which must have led to the support of Mahometan, Jewish, heathen, atheistic teachers. Montagu kindly sent it to me confidentially before it was printed. I instantly set about pulling it to pieces, both as to principle and in detail,—for in its details it was most carefully constructed so as to mar the whole progress of the Church in this Colony, and to affect us in a way in which it could affect no other body. I had but one day to draw up a paper in opposition to it. Had any delay occurred all would have been lost. Thank God, however, the Governor and Montagu have listened to my appeal, and the Bill (the most awful document I have ever seen) is to be withdrawn, secretly if possible, though it has been noticed in the Government speech on opening the Council. What will be the next move I know not. But every month's delay is of vast importance to us, and two or three years hence, if God continue to bless us as He has hitherto done, we may set all their legislation at defiance. . . .

"I hope the Church at home will not yield to Kay Shuttleworth one tittle. I am glad the German school is awakening attention of people to the true danger of the latter days. . . . Amidst many anxieties our work is progressing: the self-willed, independent spirit of Colonists, and the jealousies of those who are not of us, are the chief difficulties in our way. . . . Do not forget us in your prayers. 'Without is fighting, within are fears,' and we are but poor creatures, and oftentimes cast down, and full of doubts as to the proper course to follow."

To Mrs. MOWBRAY.

"S. Peter's Eve, 1849.

. . . "It is the eve of the anniversary of the Consecration in Westminster Abbey, and I had intended to have a quiet day to-morrow for thought. But I have just received a note from the Governor, begging me to go into the country to see an old friend of his, who is dying, and is anxious to see me. So at daybreak I shall be booted and in my saddle. Unfortunately, Badnall has gone off with Montagu into the country for a trip, taking with him my best steed. . . . I cannot conceive how any one should in these days covet the high posts in Church or State. In my little sphere there are anxieties enough to weigh down any man. May we all realise more and more, amidst the turmoils which surround us, the promise that God has made, of keeping in *perfect peace* the mind that is stayed on Him."

To JOHN MOWBRAY, Esq.

"Cape Town, July 4th, 1849.

"Mr. ——'s letter is all very well as a theory. Every Bishop would be glad to see a Dean and Chapter, Cathedral, College, etc.; but, so far as this Diocese is concerned, the thing is simply impracticable at present. He does not seem to be aware that the patent expressly enables me to appoint a Dean and Chapter;[1] but even if I had the men, it would be ridiculous to do so in the existing state of our Church. People do not seem to be aware that up to this time the Church can scarcely be said to have had a footing in South Africa. We have already excited quite sufficient jealousy by our movements. The Capitular body may one day exist, but it will not be for some time. Our present task is a more homely one—*i.e.* to supply our scattered population in various extensive districts with zealous, hard-working Clergymen, who will be content to labour amid disappointments and reproach in laying the foundations of the Church in this wayward, long-neglected land. When I have £30,000 at my disposal, I may begin to think of a Cathedral and College; the present Cathedral cost £16,000.

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[1] February 25th, 1850, the Bishop was able to write to Mr. Mowbray: "I think before very long I shall have to constitute something of a Chapter; at present you know I have no Cathedral. The present building (called by Davidson the *pagoda*) has a debt upon it, in the shape of shares in a loan, amounting to £7,000. The shareholders are the parishioners, and consist of Jews, Socinians, etc. These elect the vestry, and the vestry has a great idea that it can order services as it pleases. It regards the Chaplain as its humble servant, but has scarce yet realised to itself what its power over the Bishop is! . . . I think it not impossible that the whole debt may be gradually wiped off,—the church conveyed to the See, and I be enabled to consecrate the building. Should this be so, I should then desire to appoint a Dean and Chapter, though there are *no* endowments. . . . What I want you to do, is to give me, if you can, a body of statutes. Of course full power should be retained by the Bishop over his own Cathedral. Up to this time we have not been able to establish full Cathedral service; but we have daily prayer, morning and evening, and weekly Communion. The Canticles and Glorias, etc., are chanted, and we have regular anthems. We shall in time have full Cathedral service. The simpler the statutes are the better. I should regard the Chapter as the Bishop's standing Counsel or Council."

To the Rev. HENRY GRAY.

"Protea, July 14th, 1849.

"My dear Henry—I believe, for the first time in my life, I am in your debt one or two letters! . . . Our condition in the Colony just now is a very gloomy one: Government is at a complete standstill, and society entirely disorganised in consequence of Lord Grey's determination to turn the Colony into a Penal Settlement. None of the grants for the new Clergy have passed, and nothing can be done till quiet is restored, which does not seem very likely just yet. The agitation is a most senseless one now, for its avowed object is gained. Not a convict will be landed. Were the people strong enough, there would be a rebellion. . . . I shall be glad to hear that you are comfortably settled again in your quiet Vicarage. I often sigh for the quiet pastoral work of a parish priest in England, which seems to me in this distant land the happiest lot on earth.[1] Cares and anxieties thicken here, and I am sadly wanting in that faith which can commit all to God in cheerful confidence, convinced that He will take care of His Own Cause. I ought to feel perfectly satisfied that all things will work together for the good of His Church here, and I do feel in the main assured of this. But each trouble as it springs up daily in my path is allowed to disturb and distress me in a way it should not do, and it is astonishing how thick they come upon me. I trust, my dear Henry, you will give me the benefit of your prayers, that God's Cause may not suffer through my fault. Let that but prosper, and I care not for myself. I am contemplating a little tour of a couple of months after the rains up to the Knysna, and at the commencement of the year a long and difficult journey by land to Natal, which will occupy near six months."

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[1] In another letter (September 22nd, 1849) the Bishop says the same: "I had rather occupy such a post than any other in this world, if it were God's Will; but we do not choose for ourselves, and I am quite content to be here or anywhere, only I feel I have an office the weight of which I am ill able to bear."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, July 19th, 1849. . . . Our Colony used to be considered quiet and orderly and peaceful, but henceforth (since the convict question, etc.) I fear we are doomed to agitation, strife, and radicalism. The Council is broken up, the estimates are not passed, and of course I have not got my ecclesiastical grants. I am anxious about these. But I cannot find it in my heart to counter-order a single Clergyman: it is quite essential that our posts should be filled. . . . I have seen a good deal of the Governor throughout this trying business, for I felt it a duty to go and see him, weak and poorly as he still is, poor fellow; but I have abstained of late, because I was accused of being one of his advisers, and I thought it better both for him and me, and the public also, that it should be seen that I really had nothing to do with public affairs. Church matters are, I trust, going on well generally, amidst anxieties and much abuse from the press. It is very odd people will not let our work alone. We never assail others, but almost every paper that is published attacks us; their determination is, if possible, to write us down. They bring no charges against us, only they tell lies of us, to excite the jealousies of the different bodies that are around us. One day the education of the Colony is to be placed entirely in my hands; another, I am a great man at Government House, and give foolish advice to the Government . . . another, the Church is aiming at being a dominant Church. Then there are tirades against priestcraft, and so forth. I wish I could let you see some of the letters I receive from different Clergy. They are very interesting. If things go on quietly for two more years, we shall, I trust, have obtained a firm footing in the Diocese. But everything, under God, seems to depend upon the course things may take during the next two years. Probably ere long we shall have our representative government, and then the Church will, I fear, meet with no favour. We shall have a flood of radicalism. . . . The Archdeacon (Merriman) seriously proposes going to live in a Kafir hut for six months with a Deacon to begin a Mission. He is a noble fellow, but he cannot yet be spared for this."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"July 26th, 1849. Our convicts have not arrived, and will not be landed when they do come. The people are madly urging the Governor to send back the 'Neptune' when it comes, consigned to Earl Grey. Our prospects for the future are anything but satisfactory, for I fear we are entering upon a course of political agitation, which will keep the Colony in a ferment. The Church still continues to be attacked, and our ecclesiastical grants cannot be passed, as the Legislative Council does not exist. Our situation is somewhat critical, but I trust and hope in God all will be well with us. My responsibilities will, however, be very great if a Representative Government be granted before I get what has been promised. . . . Many things, however, occur to console us. My conveyances are going on well. I consider this of the very greatest importance. Indeed the unity, if not the existence of the Church depends in this country upon everything being conveyed to the See. I have just got hold of several schools, etc., which have been in a doubtful state, and people begin to feel, I think, that they must fall into my views upon this point. Wynberg church has just been settled; Kalk Bay school, Graham's Town school, and others, are falling in. . . . To-morrow I have some leading Dutch ministers to meet some of ours. I wish to be on kind terms with them, and to let it be understood that we help each other in any way we can without compromise of principle. Will either you or Lizzy purchase for me two handsome altar-books (quarto) for the Cathedral? I wish to make a present of them. . . . Some Swedish Missionaries have gone to Natal;—

I want a little book, published two or three years ago by the Archbishop of Upsala, also Dewar's *Protestantism in Germany.* Beg Richard to let me know what he thinks of the Swedish succession, what title the reformed body in Sweden has to the name of a Church, and what relation the Swedish Bishops have to the Bishop of Cape Town."

To John Mowbray, Esq.

"Protea, August 25th, 1849.

"The news about S. P. G.'s liberality to me has been a great relief to my mind under many very pressing anxieties. I trust I see my way through pecuniary difficulties for the present, thanks to the Governor and to dear Mr. Montagu, who is everything to me, and is essentially the *mind* of the Colony. I am getting through all business with Government gradually and satisfactorily. Difficulties are wonderfully smoothed for us through him, and he takes an increasing interest in our work. . . . I fear the present agitation will leave permanent effects behind it; the same spirit so prevalent in Europe is rampant here—indeed the state of this Colony makes me very uncomfortable. It is thoroughly leavened with the self-willed democratic element, resisting all authority and restraint. This may all take an anti-Church line, and be a serious hindrance to our work. They feel indeed already that we have no sympathy with it, and hate us for it. Still amidst manifold anxieties God's cause is advancing, and our work becoming consolidated. It will take, however, two or three years of quiet endurance before we can look upon the Church as having taken deep root, I consider the question of Clergy grants pretty well disposed of; Government not being able to vote them has recommended them to the Home Government, and asked Lord Grey for authority to fulfil the Governor's promises. Meantime the Clergy will draw their stipends, I guaranteeing repayment in case Lord Grey refuses to sanction them. The grants towards the erection of churches are in a more precarious condition, still I hope they will come round. I have just made another plunge. I have purchased fifty acres of land, in an excellent situation within four miles of Cape Town, for our College.[1] . . . If I had delayed another day I should have lost it. I am now going to concoct an appeal for funds. Montagu highly approves of our scheme, and thinks it a great move. We are outgrowing our present accommodation. . . . We shall want £10,000 to set us afloat. . . . I am about to inclose you a correspondence about precedence here. I send it to you because you can, being in town, consult friends privately as to whether anything ought to be done in the matter. I believe it is the first time that the Colonial Minister has ever directed the puisne Judges of a Colony to take precedence of the Bishop. At first I thought that I ought simply to announce the fact to the Metropolitan, as it will of course form a precedent for other cases, and is part of the system of the day, which is to slight the Church. You will see the extract from the Judge's Charter, which I interpret as giving the Bishop precedence over the Chief Justice here as in England. . . . I have literally been writing ever since I got out of bed this morning. . . . I am going to take Sophy with me, early in October, on a short Visitation of about 880 miles in a cart. She will never want to go again, but must, I suppose, purchase her experience. . . . Our convict ship has not yet arrived; the Anti-Convict Association are not unlikely to refuse the Governor bread and meat if he does not send them away. Indeed it is not impossible that we may all be on short allowance! You may easily imagine that our state of society is at present very distressing; people talk of nothing but convicts, all business is at a standstill, and the Colony is materially suffering."

This subject recurs in another letter to Mr. Mowbray, of February 25th, 1850: "Many thanks for the trouble you have taken about the precedence question. I entirely agree in your and Judge Coleridge's view. To me it would be most painful to raise such a question. Nothing but a conviction that it was a duty to do so would induce me to call Lord Grey to an account for his decision, and I am very thankful to find that so many upon whose judgment I can rely concur in opinion with myself, and advise my not taking any further step in the matter."

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[1] "Woodlands, near to C. Bell's at Rondebosch. At Christmas our present Collegiate School at Protea will move into it."—Letter to Miss Cole, September 24th, 1849.

These extracts do but give some faint shadow of the perpetual anxieties and vexations which were continually springing up around the Bishop's path, seeming sometimes to depress him, especially when (as too often was the case) they involved sleepless nights, but borne on the whole with wonderful elasticity and brightness; sometimes turned playfully, at others accepted in patience and humility. One of the most trying matters was his frequent disappointment in men who were sent out, and who proved failures, or were altogether unsuited to African work. The kindness and tenderness with which some cases of gross incompetency and ignorance are treated is very striking; and his warm, hearty appreciation of his Clergy who worked well and in his own spirit of self-devotion is no less so. Writing to Dr. Williamson (August 31st, 1849) of various men whom he had sent out, the Bishop says: "It is White's dress, I suppose, that gave offence. He and the Archdeacon made their appearance in cassocks, and have stuck to them. Many, I imagine, consider the dress peculiar and appropriate to the offices of Archdeacon and Principal. We do not hear much about *isms* here, though I daresay some talk about them. It would be strange if they did not, for all that passes in England on that subject is read and retailed here; and much of our work is entirely new to people's minds; *e.g.*, the appointment of parish limits, pastoral work, etc. Up to this time Clergy have looked upon themselves as ministers of congregations, and there has been very little parochial work. As to living at peace with other denominations, not one of the twenty sects around us can say that one of the Clergy has spoken unkindly of them, yet they day by day attack the Church, and endeavour by every means to bring it into odium as aspiring to be the dominant Church of the Colony, and this simply because we are striving to supply our destitute brethren with the means of grace. I am personally the chief object of attack, not for what I say or preach, for I do not hear that fault is found on this score, but because I have aims and objects which are ambitious, and so forth. . . . We never answer these railings. I own, however, I feel continued anxiety, and much depression of spirit, amidst the daily increasing difficulties of my position. This Colony, so far as the Church's work is concerned, is unlike any other. We have to engraft a new system—a new phase of religion—upon a previously existing one. Everywhere we appear to those who have been before us as intruders. Our own people, when a Clergyman comes amongst them, find that all their previous habits and actual associations have to undergo a change, and very many of them are by marriage mixed up with other communions, and have been, perhaps, in the habit of attending dissenting chapels themselves. When a Clergyman, then, goes to his parish he finds very few actual Church people. Great judgment, discretion, forbearance, patience, and zeal, are required in dealing with the strange state of things around him. He has, in fact, to found the Church. A combination of graces and gifts is needed to fill such a post well. Then people's minds are struck with the sudden change which has taken place in their own Church. It is alive and struggling everywhere, having been up to the present time in a state of almost total inactivity. It is like a surfeit to a half-starved man: he is scarce able to digest all he gets. The only quarter from which I feel much anxiety about 'ism,' is the Eastern Province. There the Archdeacon is aiming at establishing strict rubrical observances, and is, I believe, succeeding. He has carried Graham's Town, and the Church has had a great rise there, through his energy, zeal, self-denial, and power.[1] But Port Elizabeth always looks with a jealous eye on Graham's Town, to which it is a sort of rival, and so it calls the Archdeacon names. This latter place I know not what to do with. . . . . The people require a strong man, for there is a large amount of republicanism among them. It is our weakest point, and they think we do not sufficiently estimate the importance of the place, or do enough for them. . . . The Colonial Society has been behaving in a strange way to its three agents, two Clergymen and one layman. They have dismissed, or all but dismissed, them all. Blair is about to withdraw from the Society. The parish of Wynberg is very much afraid of losing him; they will raise £200, and I shall have to add £50. This place is the focus of *Indianism.* The Indians who come for the recovery of health are very peculiar. It is very rare to find a real Churchman among them. They have founded various dissenting institutions here. I am not without hope of getting some control over them, but it is doubtful. They are frequently Plymouth Brethren—preach, and have even administered the Holy Communion. They give largely when they take an interest in anything, and hang together a good deal. It will be some time before they are brought round, if ever. You need not be surprised if you hear I am unpopular. I have been compelled to be firm, especially about putting the conveyances of churches on a proper footing. . . . The formation of parishes is another delicate question. . . The nicest thing I have now to decide is the qualification of voters for Churchwardens, etc. I make it to depend upon communion, or where from circumstances this test of Churchmanship cannot be insisted on, then upon signing the following declaration—'I do declare that I am a member of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town in communion with the Church of England, and that I will conform to the doctrine and discipline of the said Church.' I have not yet settled the exact wording, but it is most important on many grounds that all Church people, in a country circumstanced like this, should

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[1] In a letter of September 25th the Bishop says, "The Archdeacon is very anxious to have the services performed strictly according to the rubrics. The vestry at Graham's Town publicly requested him to preach in the surplice, which he does, and has the weekly offertory, which ere long will, I hope, prevail in every church in the Diocese. Port Elizabeth sets itself against these things; but everything is dead and going back there. People who subscribe to Jewish Synagogues,

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as is the case with very many Church people here, may well bear whatever *we* do: they cannot care much about the Faith." And a little later (October 22nd): "A secession here, or any injudicious conduct, would do immense mischief. The Diocese has just as much as it can bear. People are up to all that is going on in England. Gorham, etc., are heroes! Nevertheless we shall, I trust, have the surplice and weekly offertory gradually in every parish."

sign some such declaration. First, it saves Church people from being swamped in vestry by Dutch, dissenters, or even heathen; secondly, it serves as a register of our people, which is greatly needed on many accounts; thirdly, it is of much importance towards the future carrying out of Church discipline. I have Bishop Skinner's case before my eyes. I mean to make all candidates for confirmation sign it. They rushed to do so at S. Helena. The Dutch make communion the test of Churchmanship, and make their confirmed sign a document similar to the above. . . . This is but a rambling letter, but you seemed to wish for our Church gossip. You will see that we have our anxieties. Greatly do I need your prayers. I never move a step without trembling, and many prayers. Willingly would I, if it were God's Will, fall back again to the office of a parish priest. But as this may not be, I am content. My dear self-denying friend, the Archdeacon, is pursuing (I believe on foot, but I cannot quite make out) a Visitation of what cannot be less, I think, than 500 or 600 miles. I have just heard of his reaching Graaff Reinet after a walk of forty miles. He dare not tell me this himself, for he knows I should remonstrate, which I hope to do by the next post."

There were gleams of bright sunshine amid the clouds, from which Bishop Gray never failed to gather all the cheerfulness possible for himself and others. One of these came in September 1849, and is alluded to as follows:—

"I was beginning to think my Government correspondence (which is *very* tedious) would slacken, when out comes a flaming despatch from Lord Grey, recommending the Government to give me grants of glebe all over the Colony, which had been refused for want of authority. This has resulted from the ecclesiastical correspondence which was sent home, in which I showed from Montagu's statistics how little land we have got compared with others. This opens out new prospects and new work.[1] I am now going to institute quietly an inquiry all over the Colony for glebe lands, and send in applications. I shall get much assistance from dear good Mr. Montagu (who has just started with Douglas on a gallop round the Colony). He takes day by day a deeper interest in our work, which is a special consolation in many ways. Do not be surprised if you hear of our getting a large grant of land for the foundation of a mission village. We have a plan in hand, but it will take some time to mature it. . . . What, however, between the twenty sects who surround us, and the strange elements in our own communion, you may be assured that I feel my own position a delicate one. I never move a step without fear and trembling, and much prayer. . . . The Archdeacon has been making a tour on foot not less than from 700 to 800 miles. . . . He walked one day forty miles after spending the night on the bare ground in the Bush. The Boers seem sometimes to have been rude to him and inhospitable, which is not natural with them. But they think little of any one who travels on foot."

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[1] Mentioning this welcome news in another letter, the Bishop adds: "I trust to turn this to good account;—Sophy says I always have my mouth wide open!!"

Another characteristic trait comes out in a letter to Mr. E. Gray, of September 25th, 1849, when the much-dreaded convict ship had actually arrived. "The Governor has at length shown some little firmness," he says, "and told the people he will not be starved, nor will the troops with arms in their hands. The Anti-Convict Association consequently feels itself in a predicament, and has adjourned till Saturday—a lame and impotent conclusion, as it allows the Governor food for a week longer. This is, I presume, the first step in retreat. I have signified my intention of ministering to the convicts on Sunday,—I thought, if any odium or risk was to be incurred, I should go instead of one of the Clergy." And a few days later he writes: "I never saw a more attentive or apparently devout congregation; I felt much for the poor fellows."

On October 3rd the short Visitation tour to which the Bishop alluded began. The Bishop rode almost the whole time, in order to be able, as he said, to turn readily out of the road and visit any stray English who might be living in the neighbourhood. Mrs. Gray and Mr. Badnall and two men-servants travelled in a cart drawn by four horses, with a tilt to open or shut, and which when the road was good (by no means an invariable condition !) went smoothly as a carriage, so that reading aloud was quite practicable, and they read Layard's *Nineveh* and some other books during the journey. In spite of the Bishop's prognostications that his wife would not want to go again, she enjoyed the tour very much.

"There was much more variety in the country than I expected," Mrs. Gray writes to Mr. Edward Gray, "and I sketched a great deal. There were not above half-a-dozen days without some fine views; most of the road is so very near to the fine range of mountains to the north, that there is a constant succession with a varying outline and beautiful light and shade, but there is a great want of trees and water. We frequently managed to stop at English houses, particularly about Caledon. At Swellendam we stopped at the Clergyman's house, and at George—at Worcester at the Civil Commissioner's—a very nice Anglicised old Dutch gentleman, and at these places we were very comfortable. But our usual routine was to start at six o'clock, travel three or four hours to a Dutch farm, generally in a most desolate position in the middle of the 'veldt' or moor, without a tree or garden, or hardly any signs of cultivation near it, where we breakfasted. Then to travel again till about five o'clock, with one or two 'outspans,' *Anglice* baits, between, at similar Dutch farms—where they would perhaps offer us a cup of tea, but nothing to eat; at each of which halts we stayed an hour. On arriving at the sleeping-place we unpacked, and then sat down in the 'fore-house' or common hall, which is always in the middle of the house, with the front door opening into it, till supper made its appearance between eight and nine o'clock, when we and the family all sat down together. We generally had hot mutton, chickens, and potatoes, and then we went to bed. The beds were almost always clean; the floors are the worst part of it. No carpets, of course, and but little furniture of any kind, so that one made a rule to unpack as little as possible. . . . When we arrived at a farm, the farmer came out, and asked who we were. Ludwig, the driver, told him: 'The Lord Bishop.'

'Can we outspan?' 'Ja.' We then got out and shook hands, and the host told us to come in, when we found the Bonn, and shook hands with her. Then she would say 'Sit,' which we accordingly did, the chairs being ranged all round the bare walls. Robert generally got in first, and he knew enough Dutch to keep up some kind of conversation, very broken and uninteresting. Mr. Badnall knew no Dutch, not a word, and I very little. Robert complained sadly that we did not help him. If we got in first, I tried to explain that the Bishop was coming, and then sat down silent. After sitting a good while the Bonn generally asked 'how many children I had, how old they were, and where they were?' These Dutch sentences I could understand pretty well, and make an intelligible response; but if either party attempted to carry the conversation any further, it very soon ended with '*Nicht verstand.*' Some very long days, and especially the hot days, or when we had to wait unusually long without victuals, I was very tired, but on the whole bore it very well, but am much thinner. So is Robert, owing to his riding so much—about 800 miles; but he is very well and strong, and was never tired. My hardest work was on the other side of George. We left the cart there, and all rode to the Knysna; Mr. Badnall and I riding the leaders, and Franck, the groom, riding one wheeler and leading the other with those great black bags which were so long tossing at your house. The Bishop rode his own horse, which was the one bought for me, and the best of the party—it was too frisky for me, and also fitter in strength to carry the Bishop's weight. The distance to our farthest point was about sixty miles, which we took in two days going down. I had thought forty miles our second day a great deal to try, but I got over it very well; and coming back, being detained a day later than we intended by rain, we pressed through the whole distance in one day, in order to keep our appointments at George. I certainly was very tired after I got off and had unpacked; but while on horseback did not feel it at all. The horses here are so easy and so enduring they never seem to flag. My little horse came in quite fresh at the end of his sixty miles. The roads are soft, and the scenery very beautiful. We were thirteen hours actually on horseback; a great part of the road we could not go fast, as we had seven rivers to cross, each of which was in a deep channel, with a very great hill, very steep, and very bad road on each side of it. The rivers were all swelled with the rain, which had been almost incessant for nine days, and the fords were deep and bad; two were pronounced impassable before we got to them, but we were not detained once, though we got very wet five or six times, as did our bags, which were quite wet through. In one place (which was not the ford usually crossed) the water came over the back of my saddle, and my horse swam. Our usual order was,—Robert first, having the best horse, and being a good swimmer himself; as soon as he was across either the servant or a mason who was with us went, and I followed him; Mr. Badnall came just after to pick me up if I fell off. I am so giddy in water that I cannot tell where to go unless some one is close by; and as these fords were narrow and often zigzag, it generally ended in my being lost, and Mr. Badnall coming up beside me to guide me out. However, we accomplished all safely, and with less fatigue than could have been expected, and all these perils seemed much less awful when one was actually engaged in them; but I am now looked upon as quite a heroine here!"[1]

The tour lasted two months, and they travelled about 2000 miles—to Caledon, Swellendam, George, and the Knysna; back by Worcester, Fransche Hock, and Malmesbury. The Bishop's heart was gladdened by finding a very decidedly improved state of things in some of the places he had visited the year before. At George he "found things in a very satisfactory condition;

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[1] The Bishop, writing of these adventures from Swellendam, Nov. 15th, 1849, says: "We should not have been here now had we not pushed on in spite of the remonstrances of every one; but I determined to keep my appointments if possible. Think of Sophy riding sixty miles in one day, and crossing five deep and dangerous rivers, which kept her wet all the way. They gave it out about the Knysna that we were drowned, for they could not tell how we could escape from a difficult position, which we did by swimming and fording a lake, and then riding through it."

the church (Littlemore) is rapidly rising, and will be very respectably built. It is to hold 200, and people are already crying out that it is not large enough, so greatly is the congregation increasing. Indeed the English congregation is much larger than the Dutch; but the Dutch *predicant* is a lazy apoplectic old farmer, and Welby is a very first-rate man. The Dutch are beginning to join our Church; and if there is no change or disturbance for a few years we shall have nearly the whole population of the district. We had thirty-three communicants yesterday, and twelve were confirmed. Captain Rainier, the resident magistrate at Riversdale, is an excellent man, and I call him one of my Clergy, and Riversdale his parish! . . . The Archdeacon finished his walk of 600 miles gallantly—his Kafir could not keep up with him. His character is, I trust, telling on the country; but the Colonial spirit is a very rebellious one, and resists all authority. Still I hope we shall get things into a thorough Church channel. . . . Our political agitation is, if possible, worse than ever. We are day by day in danger of martial law; we have the will, but not the power, to rebel. The Judges and Doctors are being starved, and get their food from the Governor. Do not be surprised if you hear that I am on short allowance. I speak my mind freely to all upon the sin of this rebellious attitude. They have disclaimed all intercourse with the Governor. I have had a very kind letter from Lord Grey, regretting his appointment of —— approving of my appointing the Clergy without reference to him, and telling me of his having recommended the grant of glebes, which he will be happy to hear meets my wishes."

On his return to Cape Town the Bishop found the state of political agitation and oppression worse than ever. Even the courts of law suffered; a merchant who had dared to accept a seat in council was brought under the action of the Pledge, every one forbidden to deal with him, and he was to be starved into submission. The dissenting ministers, while receiving Government pay, did not hesitate to throw their influence into the opposition; and the Anti-Convict Association called upon the Dutch ministers to raise funds at their approaching Christmas *Nacht Maal* (or Lord's Supper) for continuing hostilities towards Government!! Nor did they appear unwilling to comply. It was proposed to seek the like support from the English Church; but the arch-agitator, named Fairburn, declared, to the credit of Churchmen, that it was vain to hope any support of rebellion from them. Bishop Gray stated that he believed the English Clergy were nearly the only loyal people in the Colony—adding that he was quite sure that their influence, quietly exercised, had prevented much serious evil, and that had the Church earlier had her due footing in the Colony much that had come to pass would have been averted. The amount of petty tyranny exercised is marvellous to read of: boys turned out of their schools because their fathers had supplied oxen to the Government for the use of the convicts, and the like, besides more violent insults and outrages upon offending magistrates and officers. The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, weakened by illness, and to all appearance too good-natured and anxious to please everybody, was not sufficiently firm, and consequently not sufficiently respected. It was an anxious state of things with which the Bishop was surrounded when the anniversary of his leaving England came round, to which he alludes in the following letter to Mrs. Mowbray:—

"Protea, December 20th, 1849.

"My dearest Lizzie—I have just been reminded that it was on this day two years ago that we embarked on board the 'Persia' for the Cape. It was a sad day for us, yet not without its consolations. God was, I trust, in the midst of us, and He has been with us ever since, though at times He has chastened us, and seemed to hide His Face from us for a little while. I look back upon the past, and thank Him for what He has done for us. To the future I look forward with hope and humble confidence. My greatest distress arises from a daily increasing conviction of my own insufficiency, mental and spiritual, for the work and office to which I am called. Pray for me, my dear Lizzie, that I may have grace and strength supplied to me, that God's Work may not suffer through my manifold deficiencies. I have great comfort in hours of weakness in the thought of the many intercessions offered in our behalf at home. It is this that gives me strength to go forward, and sustains me under the weight of anxieties which come upon me daily. Would that I could write to you all oftener: but I cannot. It is impossible. I have a pile of unanswered letters before me, though I write incessantly. We are in the midst of our Examination of Candidates for Orders."

To the Rev. Henry Gray.

"Protea, December 26th, 1849. . . . We are approaching fast to the second anniversary of our landing, and I already write the third year of our episcopate. If ten years are the average duration of a Bishop's occupation of his See, one quarter of mine has already gone, and I have scarce done more than transact business, 'serve tables,' do the rough work, smooth the path for some abler Pastor. Well, if it be only said, 'He did what he could,' if the one talent be not laid up in a napkin, all will be well. I enclose you a list of our present Clergy, by which you will see that we have reason greatly to bless God for what He has done for us in the increase of our number. It is a great change from fourteen to forty-two in less than two years—to Him be all the glory. We had an Ordination last Sunday, three Deacons and one Priest. The Pastorals to Clergy and Laity, which I hope to enclose, will give you some idea of the state of the Diocese. I consider my move a bold one, and I am anxious to see what reception my letters will meet with in this turbulent self-willed Colony. I think no Bishop has yet thrown himself so entirely upon the offertory as I am now doing. I trust it will be no failure, but I may be mistaken. It is not without carefully weighing every expression, and without consultation with all the influential Clergy, that I have issued these Letters. They are not all I could wish them to be, but they have been framed with a special view to the particular circumstances of the Diocese, and I have said all I dared say. I recommend them to God with many prayers for His Blessing upon them. The critical state of the Colony, the disturbed condition of things, the bitter hostility with which our progress is viewed by all, make me not a little anxious about the success of my appeal. But it was almost necessary to do something, and to do it now. . . Were it God's Will, how gladly would I again be a parish Priest in a humble village in our dear Fatherland. I am not repining. I am well content to be anything and to go anywhere. My present post teaches me as well, perhaps better than any other, the lesson we all need daily to learn—that this is not our rest. May it not be lost upon me."

The Pastoral Letter spoken of in these letters was the following :—

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN, IN COMMUNION WITH THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

"My dear Brethren—It is now nearly two years since I landed in this Colony. During that period I have been enabled to travel over every part of the Diocese except Natal, which I propose (D.V.) shortly to visit. It appears to me, therefore, that the time has arrived when, being enabled to speak with some degree of experience, and with carefully-formed opinions, I ought to address you upon subjects of deep moment to us all as members of the Church.

"In the first place, then, I would observe, that the members of our communion are considerably more numerous than I was prepared to expect. They are not only congregated in the towns and villages of the Diocese, but scattered far and wide over every part of the country.

"Till of late very many who have been entirely deprived of the means of grace within their own Church, have almost despaired of ever having their spiritual wants supplied.

"During my first Visitation, however, subscriptions were very generally entered into in almost every district, both towards the erection of churches and the support of a settled ministry; and the result has been that there is a prospect of not less than twenty-one churches being built at a cost of upwards of £21,000, several of which are already in the course of erection; and twenty-six clergymen and six catechists have up to this time been appointed.

"This has been effected partly through your own zealous exertions—a sum of nearly £1,500 a year having been pledged by you towards the support of your ministers—partly through the assistance liberally rendered by the Mother Church, and partly through the aid of the local government. By these combined means, I trust we may hope that, at no very distant day, the members of our Church throughout the Diocese will have the opportunity of worshipping God in the language of their own noble and much-loved Liturgy, and partaking of spiritual blessings at the hands of their own pastors.

"But it becomes a very serious question, and one which demands the thoughtful consideration of the Church at large, how the ministry of Christ is to be perpetuated amongst us, and so extended that the whole body of our people may share in its ministrations. I do not scruple to state to you thus publicly—what I have already, on all fitting occasions, sought to impress upon you—that the Church must, if it would take deep root in this land, depend mainly on its own exertions. It is by its own efforts that the Church in every age has extended itself. By the self-denying liberality of its members, it has been enabled gradually to create those endowments which are the chief support of the ministry in our native land; and I doubt not but that, in God's good time, we may hope to see similar results in this land: indeed a commencement has already been made—lands for glebe, and other gifts, having been offered by several individuals.

"Meantime, in our present circumstances, we must be dependent, in part, upon the voluntary offerings of our people, in whatever way they are collected. It is true, indeed, that we are entitled to look for some measure of support from the State. That support has been to a certain extent cheerfully rendered. It is also true that we have a right to expect that the Mother Church will aid her spiritual offspring, whom, for so long a period, she neglected; and this she has done, during the last two years, most nobly and generously. But, after all, I repeat we must mainly depend upon God's Blessing resting upon our own exertions, if we would not see our work at length prove a failure.

"Now, in order to test your readiness to aid in the maintenance and extension of the ministry amongst you, I proposed, as you are aware, that in every place subscriptions should be opened, to which you readily acceded. In consequence of the sums to which you pledged yourselves, I felt justified in inviting several additional Clergymen to come out, most of whom either have arrived, or will speedily arrive, at their destinations. I own, however, that I felt at the time, and farther experience has only tended to confirm my impressions, that subscription lists are not in all cases the best means for securing the end which we have in view. I fear that as a system they will not be found to work well; and I see that in some cases already they have not worked well. Subscription lists, for the most part, reach only the few and overlook the many; they foster the spirit, which our Lord condemns, of doing our alms before men; they require much patience and persevering zeal in the churchwardens, or others, who undertake to collect them, which cannot always be safely depended upon; and they not unfrequently cause some degree of annoyance and irritation, in consequence of repeated applications, perhaps, at seasons when they cannot conveniently be met. Viewing these inconveniences and evils, I feel disposed to suggest, as the rule of the Diocese, the plan which has already been adopted in no inconsiderable number of Parishes, of making our Church Work to depend upon the weekly offerings of those who come up to worship in the Courts of the House of our God. This plan has the advantage of being in accordance with Scripture —"upon the first day of the week," etc. (1 Cor. xvi., vs. 1, 2)— with the prescribed rules of the Church,[1] and I think also, if entered into cheerfully and earnestly, is sure to be the most effectual method. It is quite true, indeed, that persons who give but grudgingly, might avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of not giving at all; but it is at the same time true, that those who can afford to give but little, would thus be enabled to give without the intervention and publicity of a subscription list, and that the weekly contribution of a small sum would not be felt so pressingly by the great majority of our people as the payment of a larger and sometimes a considerable sum once in a year.

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[1] See the Rubrics in the Communion Service, at the end of the Nicene Creed, and before the Prayer for the Church Militant.

"While disclaiming, then, the wish unnecessarily to disturb the existing arrangements which have been entered into in various parishes, I am quite prepared to try the method now suggested, provided that each parish clearly understand that the maintenance of the ministry amongst them must in any case continue to depend upon their raising a considerable and increasing proportion of the income of their Clergyman. It is well that I should plainly state this, in order that our real position may from the beginning be distinctly understood. However anxious I may be to do all in my power to help my brethren in every part of this widespread Diocese, I cannot be expected to maintain even such a work as that which already exists without very liberal support from them, dependent, as I myself am, for the carrying on of our various operations, upon the fluctuating contributions of friends in England, which were pledged but for a limited period, and the aid of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which has for so many years been a benefactor to this Colony. Nor is it right or reasonable that we should accept to a larger extent than is absolutely necessary the offerings of our brethren at home, which are frequently made by the very poorest members of our Church at great personal sacrifice, more especially as we are not subject to rates and charges for the poor and destitute, which press heavily upon them, and certainly have not, except in rare instances, hitherto devoted the tenth of our substance to the service of the Lord.

"What I would desire, then, to see, would be that the whole Church throughout the Diocese should be impressed with the conviction that there is a great work to be done, which can only be accomplished by the combined, unanimous effort of all; that, in order to effect this, all should resolve to offer on the Lord's-Day, as God shall enable and dispose them, of their substance towards the advancement of His Kingdom upon earth. First, for the support of the Ministry in each Parish, to which the collections on one Sunday in the month might be devoted. Next, towards the erection, or enlargement, or repairs, or expenses, of the Parish Church, or liquidation of the debt upon it, to which the offerings of another week might be devoted. Thirdly, towards the conversion of the Mahometans and Heathen. Fourth, the maintenance of the Poor, including the forming of a fund for aged Clergy, their Widows and Orphans, or for other good works, for which the Sundays when the Holy Communion is celebrated might perhaps be most appropriately selected. Fifth, the work of Education. It is very probable that in different parishes it might be found desirable or necessary to adopt a different rule as to the frequency of the collections for some of these objects, but none should be altogether overlooked. It is also possible that individuals might desire to make special offerings for particular objects on Sundays when the general collection will be devoted to other purposes. This they will of course be at liberty to do, by naming the object to which their offering is to be applied. Should it then be notified to me, by the Minister and Churchwardens of any particular Parish, after consultation with the Parishioners, that they are prepared to enter heartily into this plan, I will consider that, for the year upon which we are just entering, the subscriptions promised towards the maintenance of the Minister will be paid through the weekly collection. They will not, therefore, be asked for in any other way. The subscriptions, however, promised towards the erection of Churches, had better be collected as originally intended.

"It has been suggested by some of you, that the principle of direct contributions of the people towards the support of their Pastor is liable to the objection that it places both parties in an unpleasant relation towards each other, which will in many instances lead, as it unhappily already has done in some cases, to feelings of alienation. I have endeavoured to guard against this by authorising the Clergy whom I have hitherto sent out to draw upon me for the amount of their stipends. I hold myself responsible to them, and regard the several parishes as responsible to me. Thus the difficulty has been avoided, though, as will easily be seen, at great personal risk, and by the incurring of heavy liabilities on my part.

"Were it not that I feared to extend this letter to too great a length, there are several other points on which I should desire to address you. But I must just touch upon one. As we must depend upon ourselves at the last for money, so we must at the last for Men. We cannot expect that England will always send out a supply of men duly qualified either for the work of the ministry, or of education, or even for secular employments; nor is it desirable that we should always depend upon such a supply. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance for the permanent success of the Church's work, to secure a sound education for all classes of her members within the Colony. Feeling strongly the want of such education here, and seeing that many members of the Church were as sensible of it as myself, I opened, as soon as the means were at my disposal, a Collegiate School; and lately I have purchased an estate near Cape Town, with a view to the foundation of a Collegiate School and a College.

"This endeavour to supply an acknowledged want has been so far appreciated, that there is a probability of finding, at the first opening of the School in its new buildings, applications for admission for a larger number than can be accommodated. It therefore appears necessary to commence the erection of Collegiate Buildings as soon as there are sufficient funds in hand to begin with. The Venerable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in addition to its other liberal contributions to the erection of churches, has given the munificent sum of £2,000, and subscriptions are being raised in England for the purpose. The advantages which such an Institution has in its power to offer must depend in great measure upon its starting free from any burden of debt, and with some income of its own, that the expenses may not, in fact, all fall upon the Parents of its Pupils. I commend it, therefore, to the sympathy and support of the wealthier members of the Church, some of whom will, I trust, be found willing to contribute either towards the erection of buildings or the purposes of endowment.

"I have only now, in conclusion, to express my deep sense of the very kind way in which you have throughout the Diocese received your first Bishop, and call upon you to join with me in expressions of gratitude to Almighty God for what He has already done for us, both by the great increase in our Ministry and the spirit of zeal which has been in so many places aroused for building the House of our God.

"In that part of the Diocese from which I have but just returned, after a second Visitation, I already see a great change effected. Congregations have been formed, and are increasing, and God is in many ways blessing the work of our hands. That He may continue to pour out His Blessings upon us, as He has hitherto done, and make the Ministers of his Church, who have gone forth amongst you, instruments in His Hand for the promotion of the glory of His Great Name, the extension of the Kingdom of His Dear Son in this Land, and the saving of men's souls, is, Brethren, the fervent prayer of your Friend and Pastor, R. CAPETOWN.

"January 1st, 1850."

How keenly and personally the Bishop threw himself into the charge of each man serving under him, and with what readiness to find the source of failure in himself rather than in others, cannot fail to strike one at every turn;—*e.g.* when this Christmas a Catechist turned out badly, he says: "It has, I trust, forcibly brought home to me that saying, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.' I have felt keenly that I have not been sufficiently in prayer for those who labour under me in the Lord. We have all of us of late, I fear, been viewing the progress of the Church and its work too complacently, contrasting its condition with the state of things a year and a half ago. God is now humbling us by showing how much of what we are doing may be unreal. May the lesson not be lost upon us. Satan has gained an advantage over us."

Again, he was anxiously weighing the offer of an English Priest to come out and help him, who had been troubled with doubts as to his position in the Church of England. "I do not think," the Bishop says, "that the fact of a man's mind having been unsettled during a period of great religious excitement is sufficient cause for refusing him the exercise of his ministry in the Church after his views had so far undergone a change as to leave him without any doubt whatever for a considerable period previous to his seeking employment in a particular Diocese. But I think it affords ground for *discouraging* a person who has once been unsettled from offering himself as a labourer in a vineyard where mere indiscretion would prove deeply injurious, and where a falling away would be ruinous. With these impressions I wrote rather to discourage, but not to refuse the services of one who might prove a true and faithful minister of Christ's Church, and who certainly is anxious to do God's service without earthly reward or recompense. I did not feel at liberty to decline his proffered services. . . . But I tremble at the thought of giving the Diocese any real cause to distrust us or our work. It has now quite as much as it can bear of the Church, and any act of mere indiscretion would seriously compromise the cause of God in this land."[1]

On the other hand, at this same time, the Bishop was being urged to accept the services of a Dutch minister from Amsterdam, who wished to come out and work for the Church of England; and here again he saw reason for great caution in the line adopted. Difficulties seemed to rise up on all sides, and one can scarce wonder at the Bishop's exclamation in a letter to his brother-in-law, after thanking him for various new books sent out: "Would that I could read them! But I cannot. There are few things on earth I more long for than time to be quiet in my study. My present life is not wholesome for mind or soul."

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[1] The Priest alluded to confirmed all the Bishop's expectations; and, though he did not go to the Cape, has been a zealous and valuable worker elsewhere all his life.

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Protea, December 31st, 1849.

. . . "We are just closing the year and beginning another. Last night, in the Cathedral, the thought came across my mind very vividly that I might be yet fifty years here, and it was inexpressibly painful;—not that I felt there was any prospect of it, for I often think my time will not be long. God grant that when it comes I may be ready."

The early part of the year 1850 was full of work (if indeed one year of Bishop Gray's Episcopate can be called fuller than the rest), while he prepared to leave Cape Town on a long arduous Visitation in Natal, of which he says: "I do not like the thought of it. All depends, of course, upon a thousand contingencies, and my plans may be thwarted by any unforeseen circumstances: *e.g.* a swollen river, an unsound spoke, a lame horse, a sick man, or any other accident, may at any moment derange all my proceedings."

The need for funds still pressed, and as he said playfully,—"Another thousand a year, *to play with*," would enable him to set on foot many valuable schemes. Meanwhile, the *South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review*—a monthly publication—and the *South African Churchman's Almanack*, were both started successfully; and one all-important object, about which the Bishop was intensely anxious, was found in his new Mission works. Concerning these he wrote to Dr. Williamson:—

"Cape Town, February 12th, 1850.

. . . "I have undertaken to found a Mission in Umhalla's territory, about midway between King William's Town and the great Kei River, in the country called British Kaffraria. The Chief Umhalla is one of the most intelligent of the Kafir chieftains. He has about 10,000 people under him. Here we hope, if it please God, to begin our first operations. Besides this, Colonel Mackinnon writes in his Report to the Governor that there is a great tract of country, eighty or ninety miles in length, on the banks of the Kei, to which no Mission has yet been sent. This, I trust, we may be enabled to take up in course of time. . . . In order to enter upon the work at all, we must have at least a Priest and a Deacon; and the chief object of this letter is to ask you to look out immediately for fit men. We do not mean to offer any stipend to the Missionaries;—they will be fed and clothed, and that is all. I am most anxious that they should be willing and able to live a hard life, with few of the comforts and none of the luxuries of life. In order to make any great impression upon the Kafir mind, there must be much self-denial. Everything, indeed, under God, will depend upon the zeal, devotion, and self-sacrifice of those who undertake the work. The Archdeacon—who is himself a candidate for the honour of being the first Church Missionary in Kaffraria, and begs to be allowed to resign his Archdeaconry for a hut in Umhalla's Kraal—writes thus of the qualifications he deems necessary in our missionaries:—They should be,

"I. Men of subjugated feelings, great humility, having the spirit of obedience, habits of order, and the power of living together without private interests, and almost without private purse.

"II. Men of industry, and accustomed to manual labour and trade, and yet with talent to acquire languages, and preach in them.

"III. Men who do not want to make reports, and call the eyes of others upon them. The Moravians (with whom he has frequently been) are his model Missionaries. . . . If you like to sound the Church Missionary Society as to funds, I have no objection, but nothing would induce me to submit to any dictation or interference on their part. The whole Mission shall in every respect be managed by the Church here, or there shall be none. I have seen enough since I have been out here of the working of Societies to make me loathe them—always excepting the dear S. P. G., which seems mercifully preserved from the Society spirit. If the Church Missionary Society will follow the example of S. P. G., and place £500 a year entirely at my disposal for the formation of a Mission, I will thankfully accept of it. But if they mean to bargain for power, I will have nothing to do with them. I see every day I live more and more clearly that the whole Church work must be done by the Church, and not by any other agency. And, thank God, this Diocese is beginning to think so too. If the Church Missionary Society will not help us without annexing conditions which the Church here will not consent to, and if S. P. G. cannot assist us further, we must look to God for supplying us the means in other ways. I have no great fears on this score. We shall have special offerings from every congregation, and, blessed be God, the Clergy are all, or nearly all, of one heart and one mind in this matter. . . . I commend this matter to God, in the hope and the confidence that He will bless our humble endeavour to do Him service, and to advance His Kingdom in this portion of the vineyard. . . . I should be very glad that my dear noble friend Merriman had his own men about him. . . . The work of education is growing in importance from day to day. . . . Would that we had a Miss Sellon with her Sisters. I feel more and more the importance of Sisterhoods. There is much in Cape Town that cannot be done except by a Community. We have some ladies who would do well for the work, but we have not the means."

To the Rev. CHARLES GRAY.

"Cape Town, February 15th, 1850.

. . . "Having a few leisure moments while sitting to see people, as is my custom, in the Vestry on Fridays, I begin a letter to you. . . . You are in possession, I hope, of our plans about a Mission to the Kafirs. Had the Church founded a Mission to them, as she ought to have done, half-a-century ago, who will say what might have been saved to the nation in a pecuniary point of view alone? The last Kafir war alone cost near two millions. I have a good hope that God will raise up some devoted men for this work, and supply us with the means of feeding and clothing them. I am not, however, at all sanguine about immediate results. Humanly speaking, the field is not a promising one. The different dissenting Missions have had but very poor success. Foreign Missionaries are, I think, as a whole, more blessed in their work than the London or Wesleyan Societies. There is very much of the world in all their undertakings—very many are more of traders than Missionaries. The London Society men are bitter politicians. But I must not say more, or you will think *me* bitter, which I trust I am not. I can rejoice to see Christianity, however imperfect in its form, making way at all. If there is a mote in our brethren's eye, there is a beam, I well know, in ours. It is better to do the work as they do it than not to do it at all, as is the case with ourselves.

"Both myself and the Archdeacon are more interested in the Moravian Missions than in any other. He thinks those on the frontier almost perfect, and he has been much with them, and loves them heartily. I like what I have seen, but think the system at Genadendal in some respects faulty. It is, however, a sweet place, and they are gentle people, and receive me when I visit them with much affection. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that I think the greatest fault of the Institution (next to a want of discipline, which is very lax) to be the good cheer of the place. There are too many substantial meals! This is a common observation. There is no excess, but there is fulness. But I am again becoming censorious.

"Well, if it please God to raise us up the men, we will endeavour to make Christ known among the heathen beyond the limits of the Colony. There is a great work before the Church in this land, if we had but the heart and the faith to enter upon it. The Archdeacon is admirably suited for the conduct of such a Mission, and he presses to be sent upon it. But I cannot spare him, for he is almost necessary to the existence of the Church in the East. He is a very remarkable man—his self-denial and energy, both of body and mind, are greater than in any other man I have ever met with; I really do not know in many respects his equal. I wish I could but give you a record of his life for the last year;—I am sure it would astonish any one. But I only have slight glimpses of it, for he never mentions himself or his work beyond what is necessary, though I hear from him on the business of the Diocese by nearly every post. . . . I consider myself already pledged beyond my means, and I scarce know which way to turn. The people of Graham's Town abuse me for my indolence, but they little know all that I have upon me;—at times I feel quite broken down. The long neglect of past years has caused an immense accumulation of work, all of which ought to be done at once. If we don't do it, Rome will. I have already been told from the East that the Church of England's day of probation is passing, if it has not passed away. This, however, blessed be God, is not true. We have had too many proofs of His Goodness and Mercy to doubt whether His Presence goes with us. Faithfulness and devotedness on the part of His Ministers, and prayer on the part of all His people, will yet win a goodly inheritance for the Church in this land. . . . We ought to have a Sisterhood in Cape Town. In no other way can we reach the heathen masses.

"God willing, I hope immediately after Easter to start a Visitation of this whole Colony of Natal. I do not relish the thought of an absence of eight months, travelling incessantly; three months last time exhausted me; I was fit for nothing the last month of my first Visitation. The thing which will most distress me will be that I shall have applications for Clergy in several places, and not be able to hold out any prospect to the people;—as for instance at Bloemfontein, where there are more than 300 soldiers, and a rising English population. The Government has sent a Dutch minister, but I shall not get half his stipend for English Clergy. . . . But enough of my troubles—I am not cast down. Were I more faithful to God, and better qualified for the work to which I find myself called, I should be cheerful, whatever were to take place. But, alas! this is not always the case."

The following Letter from the Bishop of Cape Town to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was read at the General Meeting of the Society, April 19, 1850:—

"Cape Town, February 5th, 1850.

"My dear Hawkins—The time has, I believe, arrived, when it becomes the duty of the Church in this Diocese to enter upon direct Mission work. Any longer delay on our part would, I think, be an evidence of unfaithfulness to the great trust committed to us. Our internal organisation has been now for nearly two years completed by the addition of the Episcopate. During this period we have been enabled to supply the most crying necessities of our own people. Thirty Clergy have been added to the fourteen whom I found on my arrival in the Diocese. Several more indeed are absolutely required, and the work of education, which is forcing itself on our attention, is as yet almost untouched. Yet, notwithstanding this, I repeat, there are circumstances which lead me to feel that we may not any longer, without sin, defer the attempt to found a Mission.

"From almost the first hour of my landing in the Colony I have been impressed with the conviction that it would become our duty, at no distant day, to seek the conversion of the tribes on our border. Providentially, we seem to be called to this work. Others had entered upon it but partially; and there appeared to be some prospect of a withdrawal, rather than an increase, of missionary effort. More distant fields, indeed, offered greater promise of success. The very name of Kafir (infidel) is in itself discouraging. The bloody and destructive wars which have so frequently taken place between the Colonists and these noble savages, have tended to alienate them from us and from Christianity. But these difficulties, it appeared to me, should rather stimulate our zeal than damp our ardour. Two courses only seem open to us—their conversion, or their entire subjugation. We know how this last course would terminate. It would issue with them as with other tribes who have been brought under our yoke. They would fade away before us. With these convictions on my mind, I have deeply felt that the Church in this land had a solemn call to preach the Gospel to the Kafirs, and that she ought not to delay entering upon the work longer than was absolutely necessary. The same impression exists in the minds of most of the Clergy with whom I have conversed. As an evidence of this I may observe, that the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Graham's Town, at their meeting on the 1st of January—the Feast of the Circumcision—agreed to petition the Bishop to take immediate steps for the formation of a Mission, and pledged themselves to raise £100 a year towards it. The Clergy of the Western Province are, I am sure, prepared to make a similar promise. The only question with me, of late, has been, where we were to begin. Mr. Green, the Rural Dean of Natal, has been very urgent in pressing the claims of the 100,000 natives in that dependency who speak the Kafir tongue. The Archdeacon has leaned, I think, more decidedly to the formation of a Mission in British Kaffraria, near King William's Town.

"While I was debating this subject in my mind, and had almost come to the conclusion that I would defer any decision upon it till I had visited both of these fields, which I purpose doing (D.V.) this year, I received from His Excellency the Governor the very interesting report of Colonel Mackinnon, the Chief Commissary of Kaffraria, of which I enclose a copy, accompanied by a letter from the Governor, in which he invited me to found a Mission at the spot pointed out by Colonel Mackinnon—viz. in Umhalla's territory, about thirty miles to the east of King William's Town.

"After mature deliberation, inquiry, and consultation with others—and not, I trust, without prayer to Almighty God for guidance—I have come to the conviction that it is the duty of the Church to accept the invitation thus given; and I have written to the Governor to say that I shall be prepared to attempt the foundation of a Mission in that part of British Kaffraria to which he has drawn my attention. This done, it becomes my duty to communicate with you, as Secretary to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to seek your advice and co-operation.

"The plan upon which we propose to proceed is this, To endeavour to engage in the first instance, as a commencement of the work, the services of a Priest and Deacon, who shall proceed at once to the field of their future labour, and commence the work with the aid of a Kafir interpreter, already provided. We do not contemplate going to any great expense in the erection of a Mission station and premises. We hope that the Clergy who may feel disposed to offer themselves for this work, will be prepared to lead a simple, self-denying life; engaging to some extent in manual labour, and willing to live with but few more comforts about them than those possessed by the people to whom they will be sent. We do not propose, therefore, to offer any stipend, but only to undertake to provide for the actual wants of our brethren. I am fully aware that I am making a proposition which but few will be prepared to accept. Some will shrink from a life of toil and hardship; others will fear on the score of health, although the climate is especially favourable to health. But I feel assured that there are many earnest devoted spirits in our dear Mother Church, who will be prepared literally to give up all that flesh and blood hold dear, even their whole selves, to make known Christ and His Truth to those who are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. That I am not over estimating the spirit and devotion of English Clergymen will, I hope, appear from the following extract from a letter from my noble-minded Archdeacon, which shows that there is at least one of our number prepared to sacrifice himself and all he has for Christ's most holy cause:—

"'You ask me, Do I know of a fit man to head the Mission? I really do not; but I can say that I know a willing man, and, what is of more consequence, a man willing with his whole house. Myself, my wife, Miss Short, Jethro White, and Kafir Wilhelm, would all think ourselves honoured if we were sent on this Mission together. I know of some more agents that would join us. I should be quite willing, and my wife concurs, to resign my office here to another, salary and all, should you deem it more easy to find a fresh Archdeacon than a fitter Missionary; and this may possibly be the case, especially a year hence, when the work of the Archdeaconry is a little more consolidated, and put into regular train. As soon as the parochial system is somewhat moulded, our foundation stones will be laid. But all this I leave entirely to your judgment, being 'in utrumque paratus.' My young family might render the Mission expensive, as they could not all live quite '*Kafiricè*,' though I am sure they could and would live very simply.'

"That he does not underrate the self-sacrifice required in a Missionary to the Kafirs may be gathered from the same letter, wherein he expresses his conviction that they who undertake the office 'should go and live a hard self-denying life in a Kafir kraal, eating, like Kafirs, sour milk and mealies, and working *with and for* Kafirs, till they have mastered the tongue and acquired influence.'

"Now, my dear friend, if you think that you or the venerable Society can aid us, either in finding the men, or providing the means needful for this undertaking, I shall be grateful. I am most anxious that a Priest and Deacon should be at work in Kaffraria before the end of the year, and I shall be thankful if the Society will send out two duly qualified Missionaries, even though they may not be able to assist us with money. For although my own means are entirely exhausted, I am not careful about funds. The Diocese itself, even in its present weak state, when each parish is struggling hard to raise funds for the Church, the School, and support of its Minister, may be depended upon for £200 a year; and I shall be greatly mistaken if the Mother Church will not help us through our difficulties. Of course, the plan I have sketched out can only be regarded as the commencement of our work. Should it please God to bless our feeble endeavours with success, I shall be prepared to attempt a work, both in Kaffraria Proper and at Natal, upon a much larger scale. It would be better, I think, that the Clergy who first come should be unmarried. But this is not absolutely necessary. Should you be able to do anything in this matter, be good enough to communicate with my Commissary, Dr. Williamson, as I am also writing to him, and I shall feel obliged by your forwarding this letter to him for his perusal when you have read it.—Believe me ever, dear Hawkins, very sincerely yours, R. Capetown.

"The Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to the Society
for the Propagation of the Gospel."

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Cape Town, March 13th, 1850.

. . . "I still hope to start on Easter Monday, though there are, I fear, serious indications of another rebellion over the Orange River. I shall not unnecessarily put myself in the way of danger, having no wish to become Mr. Prætorius' prisoner. If, however, I cannot pass through the Sovereignty, all my plans will be deranged. . . . I have had another candidate for the Kafir Mission—Douglas has, in a beautiful humble spirit, offered himself. I have not yet mentioned the subject to a soul, for I wished to think it over by myself first for a few days. But it is a comfort to think that the choicest Clergy of this little Church are volunteering for a work of so much self-denial and so little apparent encouragement. First, the good Archdeacon, supported by his wife, who wrote a most pleasing letter entreating that they might be sent; and next, the son of a peer, brought up in the lap of luxury. Neither wish for any stipend, and both are ready to labour with their own hands for their support. . . . Nothing can be worse than the political condition of the Colony. There is no Government. . . . It is quite melancholy to see things getting worse and worse day by day. . . . We greatly feel the want of a good sound constitutional paper. The merchants have no heart or courage to start one, and the whole of the present press is revolutionary in spirit and in tone. All look forward with great anxiety to the future, and none more so than the ablest and most upright man here, Mr. Montagu. Were there a firm, decided, able Governor, who would do his duty, popular or unpopular, men would rally round him; but as it is, all are disheartened and sick at heart. People are already beginning to leave the Colony."

On Easter Monday, April 1st, the Bishop started for his long Visitation, his wife riding with him for the first few days, as far as the top of the mountain-pass called Bain's Kloof, whence she returned home with Mr. Badnall; the Bishop and Mr. White riding on to Tulbagh, and spending Low Sunday at Worcester. He interested himself much in a party of English labourers, employed in road-making, upon whom he came, held a service for them, and persuaded their foreman to undertake to say the Offices with them on Sundays, promising to send them Bibles and Prayer-books before their little camp moved up into the heart of the Karroo, where they were going to work upon a new road to Beaufort.

The Bishop's tender heart and strong love for animals[1] was often tried by the poor horses and oxen, whose carcases were strewn all along the desert; and his Journal of April 9th records the illness of one of his own horses in a very characteristic manner: "I gave him a dose of Battley's opium (intended for me in case of tic in my head), mixed with some wine that M. Le Sueur had been kind enough to put up for me. I slept but little, partly from the uncomfortableness of my bed, and partly from anxiety for my poor sick horse, who was tethered at my feet to the cart.

"10*th*, Our poor horse appeared better, so as to encourage us to proceed; but before we could arrive at water where we could outspan, he became so ill that we took him out of the cart. I gave him more laudanum, but to no purpose. . . . We stayed by him till he died. I felt more on the occasion than I could have conceived, for, when one has no other companions, a man soon becomes attached to his horse. While moralising on the carcases of oxen that are strewed along the whole length of the road, I little thought that my poor horse would so soon be added to the number. However, his lot may be better than that of his companions, who have some months' hard work before them, and some thousands of miles to travel before they return home. We saw to-day a poor ox lying helpless by himself, left by his owner to die in the desert, being unable to go any farther. It was quite dark before we quitted our horse, and as Ludwig could not see the road, I had to run before the cart for a mile or two, and point it out, and warn him of stones, rocks, and gullies. We arrived at a wretched hovel at Zoute Kloof, where an uncouth farmer suffered us to outspan. I slept in my cart, and would gladly have cooked my own supper, as I have been doing lately, from my own provisions; but I thought it might give offence, so I shared a very uncomfortable meal with them."

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[1] This love of animals was a very strongly-marked feature in his character. The mice he tamed and fed in the Cathedral vestry; a hen which once made her nest in his study at Bishop's Court, and which he treated as having paid him a very special compliment; the birds building in the thick creepers around his own house and that of S. George's Home; the half-starved dogs which abound in Cape Town, almost like the Oriental cur, homeless and ownerless, skulking in hate and fear from men, which seemed to know and be fearless with him; the wounded beetle (which, as a friend records the last time he enjoyed the Bishop's society) he would carefully take up and carry to a place where it was not in danger of being crushed;—all such, and many more, could testify to his tenderness and pitiful care for all God's creatures. As to his horses, the Bishop writes of them almost as if they were people, and he seemed almost to have a *friendship* for some of his long-used four-footed servants.

On April 13th the Bishop reached Beaufort, where, among all his various occupations, services, confirmation, committees, etc. etc., he made time to visit an old widow lady, whom he remembered having seen when last in the place, and in whose earnest faith, nourished up through long years of utter spiritual starvation, he took a deep interest. He said it did his heart good and refreshed his spirit to see how God had trained and perfected this soul, apart from all outward means.

Almost every travelling day the start was made quite early, often by starlight, and then probably eleven or twelve hours were spent in the saddle; and having only one man—Ludwig—with him, the Bishop had plenty of work to do in helping to look after the horses, making fires, cooking, washing up, and packing his canteen, and the like, so that he was generally actively employed most of the evening when travelling; and, as he says in a letter, the time spent in writing was taken from sleep, of which he had little enough; while the time between arriving at any place and leaving it again was engrossed by the same constant succession of work as during the last Visitation. Archdeacon Merriman was to meet the Bishop at Graaf Reinet; and as he did not appear, the Bishop and Mr. Long walked out to look for him, and met him at some distance, coming alone, with a bag over his shoulders, a bundle under his arm, and his staff in his hand, having lost his horse, and his Kafir attendant being knocked up. The loss of the Archdeacon's horse involved a real disappointment; for, in consequence, he was unable to go on with the Bishop, as he would have had no means of returning, and the Bishop had to continue his journey alone.

Two days more through the Sneewberg took the Bishop to Richmond, where, he says, "It was the first time that the prayers of the Church of England had ever been offered; the first time that an English Clergyman had ever set foot in it. Moreover, there is not now, nor has there ever been, I believe, a religious teacher of any English sect in the place. I was pained to find how little acquaintance the English seemed to have with the Liturgy;—none knelt, none even stood,—all sat motionless, even while singing the 100th Psalm. One or two voices were indeed raised to repeat the responses, but irregularly, and not at all in the Psalms. I preached to them extempore, and invited all who desired my counsel and advice to visit me at my lodging in the morning. Several came . . . some to state their conviction that they were falling away from God, and their sorrow for it; others to express their desire to live nearer to God, and their inability to do so, and to complain of their destitute spiritual condition. One undertook to call the English together, and endeavour to make arrangements for building a Church school. . . . The high wages and cheap wine and brandy lead to much intoxication. . . . I left the place with very painful and melancholy feelings for Colesberg, sleeping at a Mr. Ackerman's, who has a property of 60,000 acres in the Karroo: I could not induce him to accept of any payment either for myself or my horses. One occasionally meets with genuine hospitality of this kind, though in only one other instance has a farmer refused to be paid. On no one occasion, while travelling through the Colony, have I ever been refused admittance into the Boers' houses. . . . I should always, however, if it were not for my horses and man, prefer the open veldt to a farm-house. One is more independent; one can sit down to write (a matter of great importance to me, followed as I am from place to place with large packets of letters); and the necessity of talking to the people without having anything but a smattering of the language, is very wearisome. If my dear friend the Archdeacon, while performing his pedestrian visitations, is sometimes shown to the door and refused a morsel of meat, and told as a favour he may lie in an outhouse, it is, I believe, in consequence of their suspicion of him, and not from any desire to be inhospitable. They cannot believe that a *predikant* would walk; they never knew or heard of such a thing, and take him for an impostor—a discharged soldier or a convict. It is in vain to tell them that our Lord and Master and His holy Apostles walked; it may have been so, but they know that *predikants* don't walk! Our second night was passed near a mud house about three hours from Colesberg. I passed the night in the cart. The country from Richmond to Colesberg is like the rest of the Karroo—dreary, dry, and monotonous. This afternoon, however, we came across immense herds of springbok, and several quaggas and wilde-beestes. The country was as well stocked as an English gentleman's park. . . . We arrived at Colesberg about ten A.M.; and, after getting thoroughly washed and some breakfast, I went to look at the Church, which is about breast high." From Colesberg the Bishop writes to Dr. Williamson: "Pray let us have out two *heroes* (as the Archdeacon calls them) as soon as possible. . . . Before this Visitation is over you may expect instructions to engage several more men. Nothing withholds me from writing for them now, but the inconvenient fact that when they drew their quarterly bills, I should not be able to meet them. When, however, I get to a place, and see the people anxious and making great efforts, it is with the greatest difficulty I refrain from making promises. . . . Everywhere people are looking to us for education. . . . Female education is a subject upon which my thoughts run now and then. If some good Churchwomen would come out and set up a school at Graham's Town, they would, I think, succeed. I am not prepared, however (at present) to enter into any engagements with ladies. I rather tremble at the thought of doing so. If Miss Sellon, however, were to send us out an offshoot, it might be different. . . . As to my journey, I have a kind of melancholy enjoyment in being alone in my cart in this wild desert land. I can read and think, and meditate and pray, with a freedom and a leisure which I do not enjoy at home. I carry a little library with me. . . . The evenings at the Dutch farms, when we do not sleep in the *veldt,* are anything but pleasant. Were it not for my horses, who travel on from sunrise to sunset, in a slow jog-trot, frequently without any refreshment but a roll on the ground, a little water, and some bits of grass or bush by the wayside, and who need forage and shelter from the nights, which are very cold, I should always prefer bivouacking in the open country; for the farmers, though very hospitable and kind, are very uninteresting and very dirty, and we do not half understand each other yet. The master's knife and fork serve the public as well as himself; the same tub and water do for all. . . . Pray, be on the lookout for an Archdeacon for the east. I believe Merriman's vocation is to be a Missionary. I have been reading his Journal of late, often with tears. He abounds in graces and gifts. If I can see my way clearly in the matter, I shall probably, before very long, put him at the head of my Mission work. But we must have funds first to enable him to begin an institution like the Moravians'. The only man I can think of as his successor in Graham's Town is G. Hills, formerly Hook's curate, now Vicar of Yarmouth. I hope during the next three months to see a good deal of the Mission field. There is no fear of an outbreak among the Boers, as was expected a short time since. The papers are beginning now to attack books ordered out by Newman, and sold in Cape Town. These people cannot let us alone. I believe, ere long, controversy will be forced upon us."

Leaving Colesberg, the Bishop stopped at Philipolis, and made acquaintance with Adam Kok, a Chief of the Griquas; and the next day, travelling on, he came to the scene of a recent battle between Sir Harry Smith's forces and the Boers, when, finding that the dead had been buried without any religious service, he said the Burial office over their graves for his own satisfaction, as he says, and also believing that it would be some consolation to surviving relations and friends. The Bishop next visited Bethany, a station of the Berlin Missionary Society for the Coranna tribe, where the Lutheran Missionaries complained to him of the unsound teaching of the dissenting English ministers on Baptism, which they said "being spoken of generally as only a sign or mark, the coloured people confounded it with the signs and marks made upon their cattle, and did not esteem it in any higher light than this." They also talked of the evils already resulting, which were likely to increase as the coloured people were more educated, from the variety of religious sects and societies existing in Southern Africa. This was a subject which, as we have seen, often sorely troubled the Bishop, and he looked forward with many an anxious foreboding.

On May 3rd the Bishop arrived at Bloemfontein, already a very rising place, and he had scarcely outspanned before a deputation of military and civilians came to present a list of promised subscriptions for a church, together with their earnest desire to have a resident Clergyman. The Bishop and his host (Major Warden, British Resident) went about, and fixed on sites for church, burial-ground, parsonage, and school. The Bishop had no chaplain with him, and the greater part of the next day was spent in preparing candidates for confirmation. The Sunday (May 5th) was not an idle day—for the Bishop celebrated Holy Communion, married a couple, baptized, confirmed, consecrated the military burial-ground; and had matins and sermon for the troops in an open shed, evensong and another sermon in the school-house. The next day he spent mainly in writing business letters, for, as he said, he should probably have no opportunity of writing again for a month; and on the 7th the Bishop started for the interior of the country on horseback, accompanied by two Cape Corps Orderlies as his guides. Some of the English gentlemen and the Dutch minister of Bloemfontein went a short way with him, and the guns of the fort saluted him. A ride of forty-five miles took him to Thaba-Unchu, the chief kraal of the Bechuanas of the Baralong tribe, a considerable and singular native town, each house being surrounded by a low stone wall, the houses, which are round, built of clay and thatched; with a population of 8,000, and containing some 2,000 houses. The chief, Marokko, was not a Christian, but for political reasons these people are generally glad to have a Missionary living in their kraal, and Marokko was supposed to be under the influence of the Wesleyan Missionary, a Mr. Cameron, whose guest the Bishop was,—sitting up late at night "discussing Missions, the Church, and Wesleyism," and sleeping on his sofa.

The next day the Bishop rode about forty miles to Makquatlin, where the houses were built of reeds or grass, and where he was the guest of a French Missionary sent by the Paris Society—there being some hundred converts to Christianity and a small chapel in the place. He went to see the chief, Molitzani, and the next morning rode on to Merimitgo, through a country laid desolate by the late war. This village was almost a ruin: in what had been the Mission the Bishop found a room which had been used both as chapel and school, an arrangement which he considered as "unfortunate and improper," thinking that the sacredness of a building used for religious offices should be distinguished from ordinary uses. Major Warden had fixed a meeting at this place with the two chiefs already mentioned, Marokko and Molitzani, and a third named Sinkonegalla, in order to settle sundry disputes arising out of the late war, and he joined the Bishop an hour after his arrival, but the other chiefs did not appear; and after waiting some time the Bishop says: "I was obliged to take my leave, as I was anxious to join my cart, which was distant about two hours from the place of meeting, meaning if possible to push on a few miles of my road before nightfall. Major Warden accordingly ordered two of the Cape Corps to accompany me as guides, one of whom said he knew the way, and Molitzani called one of his people out of the crowd, who was said to be acquainted with the country. After receiving full instructions we started, and rode hard for between three and four hours, when we came to a road, and all admitted they knew not which way to go. After directing the men to off-saddle, I mounted the highest hill in the neighbourhood to take a view of the country. Nothing was to be seen but one dreary waste. . . . By the time I got down it was getting dark, and as our horses were knocked up, I thought it better to spend the night in an extensive deserted stone kraal on the top of the mountain. Happily the soldiers did not approve of my counsel; we started therefore on foot, and at one time, being somewhat in advance of the others, I was tracked by some wild animal, which, however, did not venture to attack me;—several more were howling round about. In about an hour and a half one of the soldiers descried a light in the distance, and another half-hour brought us to a farm close by Winburg, where the owner received us kindly. In such a country as this, where you may travel for days without seeing a house or meeting a person, it is a serious matter to lose one's way, especially if unprovided with food, as I was. I did not, however feel the least uneasy, knowing that I was in the Hands of a Gracious Father, Who had brought me through greater difficulties than the present. It was while I was in the act of offering up the Lord's Prayer, under a very strong sense of the Presence of God, that the man cried out he saw a light. We got some supper here, and forage for our horses, and I passed a very tolerable night in a wagon standing by the house. My men also found shelter, and it was well they did, for it rained the whole night. A farmer's house in this part of the country seldom has more than one room, and that without door or window-frame. In this room the whole family, and frequently strangers, sleep. It is not the custom to undress at night; I understand it is thought sufficient to do this once a week.

"Next morning we started in the rain for Geldenhuis farm, where my cart was, and reached it about eight o'clock, having gone about twenty-five miles out of our way. After washing and dressing, I started in my cart, right glad to find myself once more in it. After travelling about two hours, we came precisely to the same spot where we had lost our way just twenty hours before."

That night they arrived at an encampment of Boers, who were trekking over the Vaal River with their flocks and herds, and who gave them some springbok for supper. The night was so cold that the Bishop could scarcely sleep at all, and was glad to start early again the next morning; but they could not reach their intended destination, and had to outspan in the veldt, where, both because of the cold and of the numerous lions, they set fire to the grass. The following day was Sunday (May 12th), which the Bishop had counted on spending quietly at the house of a Mr. Bester, but they missed it, and arrived about eleven A.M. at that of a certain Hottentot, called Old Isaak. Here (after the luxury of a wash), the Bishop collected a few people and said the service of the day, preaching extempore, and was still standing talking to his little congregation, when Mr. Green of Maritzburg, the companion of his last Visitation, suddenly appeared, having ridden, accompanied by a son of Mr. Moodie, the Government secretary at Natal, a six days' journey to catch the Bishop. It was a most cheering meeting, and they went on together the next day, outspanning in the wild open veldt, making their supper on cold ham and biscuits, and sleeping sitting up in the cart—the three gentlemen above, and the two drivers below. The next day towards evening they began to descend the Drakenberg, which was so very steep, that although they unloaded the cart and carried all their luggage for more than half-a-mile, the pole cracked in several places, and owing to the delay caused by this operation, night surprised the travellers, and they were obliged to outspan at the bottom of the steepest declivity. "I never knew my driver baffled with a difficulty before," the Bishop wrote. "As the pole had cracked before we reached the worst part of the road, he said he did not dare to 'reim' (lock) the wheel, and that if we went down with it unlocked, all would roll into the precipice below. He said we must turn back, we could not attempt the descent." As this, however, was impossible, we did attempt it, and arrived safe at the bottom, though through many dangers. I understand no cart has ever been down there before. The wagons of the country can, if they please, lock all the wheels. We spent the night again very uncomfortably.

"When day dawned and we proceeded in our descent, which I did on foot considerably in advance of the cart, a glorious view presented itself. All the Kloofs in the mountains around us and above us were covered with wood, to which our eyes of late had been but little accustomed. Before us was a vast range of undulating country, an apparently interminable succession of hill and dale. The grass, which on the other side of the mountain was dry and withered, was here green and verdant, and several sorts of flowers were still in blossom. I know not whether the change of scene affected me at all, but I have seldom enjoyed a two hours' walk more. During the whole time I was enabled to maintain almost uninterrupted communion with God. The cart had scarcely overtaken me before we reached a deep ravine, near to the first house which we have seen for nearly four days. In descending this, the pole snapped in sunder, and at one time I thought my driver would have been killed and the cart dashed to pieces. Happily, however, the horses—perhaps through fatigue—behaved very well, and the cart reached the bed of the river with little additional damage. A kind farmer in the neighbourhood brought his wagon and Kafirs, with wood and forage, and we were able to splice our pole and proceed on our journey after two or three hours' delay. We again slept in the veldt, and on the following day passed through a pleasing country without further serious accident, though the front board of the cart gave way altogether, our swingle broke, the iron ring which fastened the harness of the four front horses to the pole snapped in two, and we had several similar trifling misfortunes. . . . We passed one fine river, the Tugela, in which I bathed, as I have been able to do also for the last three days, much to my refreshment; for having so little sleep, and not being able to lie down, I am getting somewhat fatigued. A life like that I am now leading makes a man feel that he is a wayfarer—that he is a stranger and pilgrim upon earth, that this is not his rest. God grant that it may lead me more and more, day by day, to prepare, as I trust it is in some measure doing, to enter into that rest that 'remaineth for the people of God.'

"16*th*, We passed the night by the banks of a little stream. Our horses having strayed to some distance during the night, we were long in finding them, and did not start very early. I had been three hours on foot before the cart overtook me. There are a great many ancient Kafir kraals all along the road, which evidently were raised by the former inhabitants of the country, who have now passed away. . . The 100,000 coloured people who now dwell in the country, and have had considerable tracts of land assigned to them, are chiefly refugees from the tyranny of Panda and other chiefs. Two of these came up to us last night while we were cooking our supper in the veldt. We did not see them for some time, it being very dark. They were thankful for some food and tea which we gave them. . . . We breakfasted at the Bushman's Drift, a military post upon a fine river, at least fine for South Africa. It has been placed there to check the depredations of the Bushmen who live in the Drakenberg mountains, which are their strongholds. These men are the great cattle-stealers of this Colony and the Sovereignty. . . . The Bushmen appear to be the most lost and degraded of all the tribes of South Africa. . . . The officers at the Post called upon me when I was outspanning, and supplied all our wants. From thence we went over a very hilly country with wretched roads, to the Mooi River, where we had some supper in an Englishman's hut, and pushed on by moonlight a little farther, being anxious to make sure of reaching Maritzburg the next night. . . We outspanned, as usual, in the veldt. This is the ninth night that I have been unable to undress or go to bed, while taking long walks every day. I am surprised that I am not more fatigued. The next morning we arrived at the Umgeni River to breakfast, after a four hours' drive over a hilly country. Here there is a very beautiful waterfall; the river rushes over a perpendicular rock into a valley about 300 feet below."

At this point a party from Pieter Maritzburg appeared to meet the Bishop and conduct him to the Governor's house, where he was expected to stay. After a long descent they reached the town, and one can well imagine that it was, as the Bishop said, a great relief to see horses and people, after travelling for so many days without coming across any signs of life. The Bishop had travelled 1,400 miles by this time with the same horses.

Whitsuntide was spent at Maritzburg. Little more than a year ago there was no English Clergyman in the Colony, and no likelihood of any coming to meet the wants of the large and increasing emigrant population, and the 100,000 Zulus recently added to the Colony. As yet there was not a church, but the upper end of a large schoolhouse was partitioned off, and well fitted up with altar, font, and lectern, and the Bishop took a hearty share in the services of the day. There were twenty-five communicants. He says, "When the choir broke forth with the Psalm, 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice in the strength of His Salvation,' I was for the moment quite overcome. That text, 'How shall I sing the Lord's song in a strange land?' rushed into my mind. It was not that I was moved by any desponding or ungrateful feelings, but I could not refrain from tears. The sacredness of the day itself, its peculiar appropriateness for the first service of the first Bishop of the Church of God in this land, the devout and reverential manner of the congregation that had been gathered by the zeal and earnestness of my dear friend, gratitude to Almighty God for what He has already wrought for us in this land, and a very fervent desire that God, 'Who as at this time did teach the hearts of His faithful people by sending to them the light of His Holy Spirit,' might pour out abundantly the gift of His Spirit upon our infant Church—all these contributed to make me feel the services of this day very deeply."

There was plenty to do at Maritzburg, where the Bishop made his head-quarters for some weeks. Thanks to Mr. Green, the daily service had been established. The Bishop confirmed forty-four candidates, and on Trinity Sunday he ordained Mr. Steabler, who had come out with him as a Catechist. He was interested in the visit of some Zulu ambassadors, sent by Panda, the King of the Zulus, to the Governor. On May 27th the Bishop started with the Governor and some other gentlemen for D'Urban. On arriving there the Bishop found English letters, and the warm, loving heart poured itself out to his sister in reply.

"D'Urban, June 3rd, 1850.

"My dearest Annie—I cannot help writing, though at a late hour, to thank you for your affectionate letter. . . . It will indeed be a happiness to be permitted to see you all once more in this world, and to take sweet counsel together. But should it please God to spare me to visit again the mother land and Mother Church, it will be to labour to promote the work God has given me to do. Our rest, my Annie, is not here, and well it is not! May it be that we may all hereafter meet in our Father's House, to part no more. I have a good hope, dearest, that it will be even so. Would that our services, while He deigns to use them for the advancement of His Cause here below, were more fervent and effectual. Such as they are, may He accept them, and pardon all that is deficient in them for His Dear Son's Sake. I shall need more than ever, as trials are coming upon our infant Church, the intercession of those who lift up holy hands in behalf of the Church in South Africa, and the feeblest of God's ministering servants.—Ever, dearest Annie, your very affectionate brother, R. CAPETOWN."

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"June 3rd, 1850.

. . . "My Mission scheme is not yet laid before the Governor. . . . It is briefly this:—Government propose to make ten locations of the natives, 10,000 souls in each. In each of these I propose to found a Mission Institution, somewhat on the plan of the Moravians. There is to be a community; they are to live in common. There must be a Priest, Schoolmaster (if in Deacon's Orders so much the better), mechanic, agriculturist.

An industrial system is to be taught in combination with mental and moral training. The plan embraces the reception of male and female pupils into the Institution, and a hospital. All the persons who conduct should, if possible, be married. Government to give £300 a year to each Institution for five years, and a farm. A single establishment would, in complete operation, cost full £600 a year; but the proceeds of the farm and shop (which latter may be placed on an unobjectionable footing, and different from any now existing) would go in abatement of this. In a few years it would nearly pay its own expenses. If the Government adopt my scheme, I offer (unless prevented by Cape politics) to go home to England to raise funds and select agents. I could not, of course, start them all at once. The scheme is intended, in fact, to meet Earl Grey's views, as detailed in his despatches. I have submitted it to Shepstone, the son of a Wesleyan missionary, the political agent, as he is called, for the whole of these Kafirs, who is regarded by them as their paramount chief. Green, who has just come down here, tells me he cordially approves it. I wish you to bear it in mind, and keep an eye open for fit and proper agents. The aptitude for acquiring languages will, of course, be an important consideration. Here there is a most interesting work before the Church. May God dispose her to enter upon it, and provide the means and agency required."

On the way to D'Urban the party visited the American Missions Station, the Cotton Company's lands, and a settlement called Little Germany, where a Mr. Bergthiel, a Jew, had established a colony of thirty-six German families. All these sources of increasing population pressed more and more heavily on the Bishop's mind the urgent necessity that the Church should fulfil her duty in providing for their spiritual wants. The town of D'Urban itself he found rapidly increasing; every one seemed to be building, and the influx of emigrants was great. "I cannot but fear," the Bishop wrote, "that a labouring population, the greater part of which is without capital, is pouring in too fast, and that there will be consequently much distress."

The Bishop visited the surrounding country with the Governor in every direction. They rode to the Umgeni River, through beautiful scenery, the trees chiefly evergreen, with convolvulus creeping to the tops of the highest. The Bush was thick, and full of flowers. Hibiscus, salvia, castor-oil, tobacco, indigo, hemp, sarsaparilla, etc., were universal. The hills abound in elephants, whose tracks they saw in every direction, as also the tiger, wolf, and wild dog.

On June 4th the Bishop, with the Governor, Mr. Green, Mr. Shepstone, Dr. Stanger, and Captain Gordon, set off on a week's riding expedition to the American Mission Stations on the north-east coast. One general impression was confirmed as they inquired into the working of the missions—namely, that the Zulu character was a very different material in which to work from that of the Kafir; the latter being "essentially sceptical, and ready to doubt and dispute all you say, while the former are ready to believe when truth is pressed upon them." The Bishop and his friends found themselves in a country where crocodiles abounded, and Mr. Grout, one of the Station Missionaries, warned him to be careful in bathing, as the Kafirs were frequently caught in the water. Other wild beasts there were in plenty, and one of their Kafirs was badly hurt by a tiger. Before leaving D'Urban the Bishop consecrated a burial-ground, and did everything in his power to promote the building of a church; and on the 15th June returned to Maritzburg, where he remained occupied in the same kind of work as usual, confirming, teaching, investigating missions, healing breaches, raising funds, and the like. He writes on S. Peter's Day: "The third anniversary of my consecration. Little did I foresee three years ago the extent of the duties, anxieties, and responsibilities of the Episcopal office, especially in a Diocese so circumstanced as this. Had I known, when summoned to take the oversight of the Church in this land, in all its fulness the nature of the work to which I have been called, or my own insufficiency for it, I had not dared consent to bear the burden."

During this time, too, the Bishop was maturing his proposed Mission schemes, and embodied what he put before Dr. Williamson in the letter recently quoted, in an official document addressed to the Governor of Pieter Maritzburg, accompanied by the following private letter, a copy of both of which he sent to England :—

"P. Maritzburg, June 19th, 1850.

"Dear Sir—I have, during my visits with you to the several locations for the natives on the coast, been endeavouring to mature a scheme, which, while it should benefit the coloured race of this land, both in a temporal and spiritual way, should aid the Government in the difficult duties which will devolve upon it under the peculiar and rapidly changing circumstances of the country. We all see that the heathen who are round about us are in a transition state—that they are being trained for good or for evil by the white man from day to day. Already a great change has taken place in many of them, and this will be the case in an increased degree as the tide of emigration, now setting in so strongly, extends over the land. Ere long the power of the Chief, upon which the good government of the people at present mainly depends, will melt away. It is already in certain instances much diminished. What moral influence have we at work to supply the place of the fading power of the chiefs, which has hitherto been relied upon for restraining this people? Unhappily there is but little. A few foreign Missionaries, owning no allegiance to the British Government, and opposed upon principle to our institutions, cannot, however good and zealous they may be, meet the necessities of the case; and yet, with the exception of two or three Wesleyans, no other agency is at work for the benefit of this very interesting people, whom we have taken under our charge. After visiting most of the Missions in the Colony, and conversing with those who take the deepest interest in the matter, I am satisfied that institutions similar to those which I have proposed to found are most suited to the existing wants of the natives, and the best calculated to transform them gradually into a religious, loyal, and industrious people. Should your Honour agree with me, and think my plan feasible, I shall very readily enter into it, and labour to bring it into effectual operation. If I could see that there was a prospect of my being able to carry it out without any assistance from Government, I would, for many reasons, prefer doing so. But in the present weak state of the Church throughout the whole Diocese, requiring, as it does in all its parts, liberal aid from the Mother Church, I see no prospect of my being able to bear the whole expense of the undertaking. I propose, therefore, that the Government should help forward the work out of the fund collected through the hut tax,[1] and I have the less scruple in doing this because I understand that it is in accordance with Lord Grey's views that the amount raised should be spent for the immediate benefit of the tax-payer; and I can conceive no way in which it could be appropriated more advantageously to him than that which I have suggested. Roads and bridges, and other material improvements, would at present be of little benefit to the Kafir, who lives among his mountains and valleys, and always travels on foot. I have endeavoured to make some calculation as to the probable expense of each Institution, and I have come to the conclusion that the buildings, including accommodation for fifty pupils, a hospital or infirmary, a residence for several families of teachers, school, chapel, etc., could not, when completed, cost less than £1,000—they would probably cost much more. To this must be added the expense of stock for the farm, wagon, implements, etc. The annual cost, were the establishment complete and the Institution full, would not, I think, be less at first than £600 a year. Ultimately it might perhaps be made very nearly to pay its own expenses. . . . Missionaries at present pay 5s. a month to each pupil, and they reckon the cost of each at 5s. a month. Girls are rather more expensive, as the parent takes the wages, and leaves the Missionary to clothe them. I reckon this item at £250. To this I add £50 as the probable expense of hospital, £50 for repairs and incidental expenses, and £250 for the maintenance of the officers of the Institution and their families. There would probably be four—a principal, schoolmaster, mechanic, and agriculturist. The whole expense to Government would be little more than the cost of a single school and schoolmaster in each location. There would be no shadow of a ground of complaint upon the part of other bodies of Christians that *their* money was applied for the promotion of a Church work. The money is drawn exclusively from the heathen, and is to be expended exclusively for the heathen, in such way as Government shall deem most conducive to their welfare. I should have entered more fully into the scheme had I not felt that circumstances and experience might lead to a considerable modification of it. . . . I have only to add, that the working out of the plan, if I engage in it, must be left altogether to myself. If I am to be in any way responsible for its success, I must have the entire control of it. Of course, however, I shall be happy at any time to furnish information respecting the various Institutions, and I should desire that the accounts be inspected from time to time. I am, dear Sir, very truly yours, R. CAPETOWN."

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[1] This was a tax upon the natives' huts, already amounting to £8,000 a year, and likely to increase, which Earl Grey had desired to be used for the immediate benefit of those who paid it.

The Governor highly approved of this scheme, and undertook to lay it before Lord Grey. Writing concerning it to Dr. Williamson (June 24th, 1850), the Bishop says: "I should not have entered upon this additional work at this time, oppressed as I am with a multiplicity of other things, and utterly destitute of funds for the undertaking, if it would have borne delay. But these poor people are rapidly undergoing a great change; they are hourly suffering injury from their contact with the white man; and unless some large and comprehensive system be adopted while they are in their present submissive and docile state, I fear they will fall first into anarchy and lawlessness, and next into a very hardened state. Indeed, do what we will, we can scarce hope to keep pace with the progress of evil. As a people there is really much to interest one in them: they are gentle, amiable, honest, humble, with fine intelligent countenances. They are thrifty, industrious, hard-working for savages. They have, of course, the usual vices of the Heathen, and these are sickening enough; but I doubt very much whether New Zealand or any other country presents at this moment so interesting or so promising a field for the Christian Church to cultivate. If I can leave the Cape next year, I probably shall return to England to raise men and means; but meantime I am anxious that you should pave the way by such steps as may suggest themselves to you. . . . One of the party should have a knowledge of medicine, another of music (the people sing beautifully, and their language is well adapted for chanting); all should have a capacity for acquiring languages. I do not propose to offer any stipends, though I am open to conviction on this point, for I find almost all here differing from me. But I would have them live together, at one common table, and have no allowance except it were for clothes. Of course there would be Rules which all would sign, and by which they would have to abide. . . . The buildings will, in the first instance, be of the simplest description—the Rector would have control over the whole Institution, under the Bishop or Archdeacon. The climate is a beautiful one; dry and bracing in winter, but with almost daily thunder-showers in summer. The land is rich and covered with grass."

On July 2nd the Bishop left Pieter Maritzburg (as he says with a mind full of hopes and fears for the future, the latter arising from his lack of men and money) for King William's Town, about 450 miles distant, but the journey had to be performed through a country where no horses had ever yet drawn a carriage, and over mountains pronounced to be almost impassable. The Crown Prosecutor, Mr. Harding, had just returned with three ox-wagons from Faku's country, through which the Bishop was going, and this gentleman persisted in affirming that he would never reach King William's Town with his cart. However the Bishop was not discouraged, nor his intended companion Mr. Shepstone—(not the official already mentioned of that name, who had intended to go with the Bishop and was prevented, but his brother). The Governor and several other gentlemen rode some way with them, and then they proceeded on through a country rendered desolate by the custom of burning the grass, which made it all as black as a cinder, and very gloomy. They slept at Tudaleni Mission station, and the next morning were joined by three Kafirs who were to guide them—one of whom had no clothing save his shield and *assegai*. They all took enormous quantities of snuff out of ivory spoons which they carried in their hair.

The difficulties of the journey already began on this second day. "Some of the descents were fearful," the Bishop says:—"I wondered how my man was able to drive down them:—I thought several times that cart and horses would all have rolled together down the mountain. The ascents were no better. At one very steep place the horses fairly refused to go on. After several vain attempts to get them up it, we partially unloaded the cart, and I ran before them, leading them with a rein, as they knew me almost as well as Ludwig. The Kafirs ran behind with stones to stop the cart from going back at the resting-places. I never remember to have been more oppressed by any exertion. Had the hill been a little longer, I am sure I should have fainted; as it was my legs quite gave way, and I nearly fell, and did not recover myself for half-an-hour. I walked nearly the whole way, thinking that I was better able to carry myself than the horses were to draw me. We passed the night in a valley half-way up a mountain."

The next night, after some delay owing to the horses having strayed, they outspanned by a little stream, where the neighbouring Kafirs (who were quite naked) brought them sticks for their fire, new milk, and a few mealies for the horses, as also a calf, which latter was the tribute customary to bring to a great chief passing through the country. In return the Bishop gave the Kafirs some of his hard biscuits, which puzzled them very much; sugar, which they thought excellent, and very sweet tea, which they liked best of all.

The next day's journey (July 5th) was very disastrous:—"We ascended the mountain which overhangs the Umzumkulu well enough; but in our descent we came to some very broken ground, though not worse than much that we had safely passed over. Just, however, as I was offering up thanksgiving for escape from danger, I saw my cart roll over. In an instant it was turned completely upon its head, quite crushing the tent, and the wheelers were upon their backs, with their feet in the air. Ludwig was invisible, being under the cart. We extricated him with some difficulty, and found that, by God's great mercy, he was not in the least hurt;—he had not even a bruise. In a short time we managed to release the horses, and then, with the assistance of some Kafirs, turned the cart over. We found it considerably damaged, but Ludwig, who is a most invaluable and indefatigable man, bound it together with *riems*. We then packed some of our goods on the horses' backs, and carried the rest ourselves with the aid of the Kafirs, having previously sent the empty cart a considerable distance in advance, the ground being still very rough. . . . After leaving this place we had still a very difficult country to travel over. It was a plain, intersected by a great number of deep ravines. There was no road, not even a track or path, to guide us, and I was amazed that we got safe through our difficulties. We broke our harness in several places in doing so, but arrived at the Umzumkulu before sunset. This is a fine broad river, and the country about it may be called beautiful, though there is a great sameness in all the mountainous parts of Natal. In coming out of the drift our horses stuck fast, being unable to drag the cart out. After taking the luggage off, we managed to get safe to land, and outspanned just on the bank of the river where I had agreed to meet Mr. Fynn, who, however, did not make his appearance. Some of the grass about us was at least eight feet high; the horses were quite lost in it. I feel thankful to Almighty God that the accident which has befallen us to-day has not been attended with more mischief. Both man and horses might easily have been killed. The loss of my cart, however, seems to me like the loss of a home. I read in it, wrote in it, slept in it—in fact, lived in it. It has been my chief home for some months. Now I am without shelter, but, thank God, it is not a season of the year when we need expect much rain. It is singular that the two worst accidents which I have had in all my South African travels should have happened in coming into and going out of Natal. My exit was not much more dignified than my entrance, for I on foot drove four of my horses for a considerable distance with a knapsack on my back and two other packages in my hands. Poor Ludwig insisted on my occupying his bed under the cart at night, though I was loth to rob him of his comfortable berth. I reckon the actual distance from Maritzburg to the Umzumkulu to be eighty miles."

The next morning, after bathing in the river, the Bishop walked on with one of the Kafir guides, and when the cart rejoined them at a bad drift he found that in the interval Ludwig and the cart had had just such another upset as that of the day before—again happily without injury to himself or the horses, and only a considerable crack in the pole. Some very difficult drifts now hindered the travellers; but the Bishop, who had dreaded the ascents and descents most before starting, was now quite glad to find himself climbing a mountain, having learnt that nothing is so dangerous as a plain perpetually intersected with ravines. They reached the Ibesi River just as it grew dark, after a weary journey through burnt-up tracts of land, where the ashes blew in clouds around them. The next morning, after a bathe in the Ibesi (carefully taken because of the numerous crocodiles), the Bishop tried to have some religious conversation with his attendant Kafirs, Mr. Shepstone acting as interpreter, and he was very much interested with the attempt. "They had heard something of the Christian religion," he says, "having been formerly in the neighbourhood of a Missionary. They said they thought very lightly of Christianity at first, but that they began to think there must be something very great in it. They listened with much attention and apparent interest while I explained to them the Being and Nature of the True God, and told them that He was their Maker and Preserver. They said that in their ignorant state they had some sort of an idea of a Great Preserver, different from and above their gods, who had been their ancestors. I told them God had given us certain commandments, would they like to hear them? They said Yes. I then went through several. This led me to speak of the nature of sin and the punishment of it; of a Redeemer, of repentance, and of faith. They appeared very much struck with God's Attributes of Love and Mercy, so different from anything they knew of or had experienced from men. After speaking to them about praying to God, and asking them if they understood me, they said, 'Yes, it was like going to their chief and asking him to forgive any fault.' They expressed astonishment at being told that God forgave those who were sorry for sin and left off sinning. Very few chiefs ever did this! I spoke to them of the torments of hell, and the happiness of Heaven. While speaking upon this latter subject, I asked them if they were happy or had ever been so. They said, 'No; how should they?' I thought my endeavour to explain to them the blessedness of the saved, somewhat affected them. When I asked if they would like me to send them a teacher to instruct them about God, they said they would wish it very much. 'Would they listen to what he told them?' They would, and would tell their friends and children what I had told them. 'Would they give oxen and mealies to feed a teacher from God?' To this they did not like to pledge themselves, but said they thought their chief would. I told them I should like much to send them a man of God, but he would have to come from a great way beyond the sea, and he would be poor, and if one came among them, they must do what they could for him. They promised that they would pray to God, and try to keep His Commandments. I told them that if they did this with all their hearts, God would give them more light and knowledge. Upon telling them that to-day was the holy day of Christians, and that though we prayed to God every day, yet this was our chief day of prayer, and that they must be very quiet while we prayed, they doubled themselves up close beside us, and put their karosses over their faces while I offered the prayers of the Church. In this land of darkness and the shadow of death, cold indeed must he be who prays not fervently and frequently, 'Thy Kingdom come.'

"O my God! raise up, I pray Thee, faithful pastors who may teach these lost ones the way of life. Stir up the hearts of many within Thy Church to offer of their substance for the establishment and maintenance of Mission work in this Diocese; and bless the means which Thy poor weak servant shall adopt for the conversion to the faith of multitudes in this land, who neither know Thee nor serve Thee.

"I feel more and more the importance of going home next year, if spared so long, and if the affairs of the Diocese will admit of it, with reference to the myriads of immortal souls in this land, for whom as yet little or nothing has been done. . . . The afternoon I spent in writing a sermon by the river-side. We then had evening prayer, and after dark another long conversation with some new guides who had joined us. I was much pleased with one of them. He spoke of the peace and quiet and protection they enjoyed under the British Government, so different from the former state of things under Chaka, who had devastated the whole country, and so destroyed the various tribes, that the one to which these Kafirs belonged, a very small one, was made up of the remnants of several. . . . I like these savages, and could be well content to settle down amongst them, and endeavour to teach them the things of God."

The next day Mr. Shepstone was to leave the Bishop, and he was feeling somewhat desolate at the prospect of travelling on through this unknown land, not understanding the language of the few inhabitants he was likely to meet, when, greatly to his relief, Mr. Fynn (British Resident in these parts) appeared, and relieved his mind. That night they slept near some clumps of trees, and the Bishop found it quite a luxury to have the space beneath his cart to himself as a bed. "I begin," he says, "to feel that there is some truth in the saying that if you wish to sleep well on the ground, you must dig two holes, one for your shoulders, and one for your hip. My bones are getting sore from the hardness of my couch; but as I walk nearly the whole time from sunrise to sunset, I am generally sufficiently tired to sleep well at night. In the morning we found our horses had strayed to a great distance, in a vain search for food—I was out two hours looking for them. We had a difficult day's journey over a succession of mountains and valleys. Our late disasters have made us use every endeavour to prevent a repetition of them; consequently, wherever the ground is uneven, we hold the cart down with a *riem.* Down steep descents we do the same. This is very fatiguing, as it requires to be done constantly; but I feel it my duty to do it, as any neglect would endanger the life of my driver. We have had to-day constantly to put our shoulders to the wheel to get our cart out of its difficulties, for some of the drifts are so muddy and steep that the horses cannot drag it out of them." . . .

They continued to pass through a wholly uninhabited and very desolate country, often losing a great deal of time in digging a way for the cart through the drifts. The Bishop and Ludwig privately agreed that, once safe over this journey, they would never try to make it again; the former admitting that he had no idea of the extent of its difficulties, though even if he had realised them, he said he would have made the attempt for the work's sake.

"*July* 10*th*, Another most anxious, fatiguing, wearisome day's journey over a country still uninhabited and burnt up. Our road has, I think, been more difficult than ever, and we consider ourselves as lost among the mountains. The horses are getting sensibly weaker from want of food, and refused several hills. The only way to get them through a difficulty is for me to walk before them and lead them. I pet them a good deal, and they will follow me almost anywhere. Nearly the whole of this day I have been thus employed, or in holding down the cart with a *riem* on ground where it was likely to be upset, or holding it back down steep descents. I am consequently getting as much out of condition as my horses. Towards evening we arrived opposite the highest mountain we have yet ascended. I pronounced it perfect insanity to attempt the ascent. After resting our horses a little while, however, we determined to try if we could get up it, as we saw there was no alternative. I led the way in my shirt-sleeves (for I have discarded my coat, which is in no better condition than its owner—the days being very warm, though the nights are cold); Ludwig drove, Mr. Fynn held down the cart, and the Kafir carried a great stone on his shoulder to put under the wheel. After great efforts, and frequent restings, we managed to climb the ascent, which was more than I expected, and outspanned for the night on the top of the mountain, close by a forest of yellow wood, where there was a narrow fringe of grass which had escaped burning. We determined to send off the Kafir by daybreak to find out a kraal which we believed could not be far distant, and to procure, if possible, some mealies for our half-starved horses. It was in this neighbourhood, Mr. Fynn tells me, that Captain Gardiner, some few years since, was reduced to live upon sugar for some days; and it was not very far off that Mr. Fynn himself was for five days inclosed between two rivers, with nothing to eat but some *sambok*—strips of the sea-cow or hippopotamus hide. Thank God we are still provided with food, though our stock is getting low. Had it not been for Sophy's forethought in providing me with tins of meat and soup, and a cheese, we should before this have been in want. . . . I laid in a store of 40 lb. of biscuit, which happily has been much burnt, and therefore has lasted us longer than it would have done if it had been more palatable, and 30 lb. of salt beef. It is well that I did this, for I know not what we should have done without it, as I have had to feed Kafirs every night. The patience, endurance, contentment, and thankfulness for kindness on the part of these poor people is touching. I always insist upon our all, in the circumstances in which we are, sharing alike. Our Kafir said this evening that it was very fortunate he was travelling with white men, as they lent him a covering at night! Poor fellow, he would otherwise be out night after night, in frost and wind, quite naked. We cannot be too thankful that amidst all our difficulties the weather has been so fine—we could hardly have chosen any more to our wishes. Had our journey taken place during the rains of summer, we certainly should not have been able to get through the country. The only disadvantage of this season, and it is a very great one, is the loss of grass. In the spring I can imagine this country looking very beautiful; for although the scenery is not generally bold, there is everywhere a rich clothing of grass, a great abundance of rivers and streams, and a fair proportion of forest. I fear the difficulty of making roads over so very mountainous a district will always impose obstacles in the way of its advancement, otherwise it would be a very tempting field for the English emigrant. We passed to-day a heap of stones on the top of one of the mountains, and Mr. Fynn told me that it is customary for every traveller to add one to the heap, that it may enable him to arrive at some kraal while the pot is boiling. The women, with a similar view, are in the habit of tying the grass in knots.

"*July* 11*th*, From the top of our mountain, which is the highest ground we have yet passed over, we could see the country for many miles round. Everywhere its features were the same, and everywhere it was burnt-up and black. On retiring into a wood, near to which we outspanned for breakfast (which we seldom get much before two o'clock), to perform my ablutions, I found myself as black as a pitman just come out of a pit. On a windy day the fine ash of the grass penetrates through all one's clothes. We have made a better journey to-day, the country not being so mountainous and rugged, and consequently our difficulties not so appalling as on former days, though we have had quite enough of them. For a mile or two we had unburnt grass. Some of the country through which we have passed would, under other circumstances, appear beautiful; but our anxieties, and the blackness of the whole face of nature, give a gloomy tinge to everything around us. We outspanned for the night in a very bleak spot, exposed to a cutting wind. Mr. Fynn was obliged to leave another of his horses on the road, quite knocked up. I cannot be too thankful that mine hold out so well. One of the wheels of my cart, however, is pronounced to be in a dangerous state; we are to try and mend it to-morrow. We have not yet met with a human being, or the slightest vestige of human habitation. It seems strange to travel over so fine a country, abounding in wood, clothed with rich grass, wonderfully well watered, with a beautiful climate, and yet find it totally uninhabited. Old footpaths are the only evidences of the country having been once occupied by man; war has left the land without inhabitants."

On July 13th the travellers arrived at Palmerston, and it was not too soon, for the day before they finished all their provisions except four biscuits and a little cheese. They were kindly entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins of the Wesleyan Society, who expressed a great desire to see a Church Mission in the country. The Bishop (who could not help being surprised himself at the way in which he had borne all his recent fatigue, especially as he looked back to early days when for two years he could only move on crutches!) spent Sunday, July 14th, at Palmerston, being present at the Kafir services, after which, at Mr. Jenkins' earnest request, he addressed the people, that gentleman acting as interpreter. Some of the Christian natives came to see the Bishop, and begged for more teachers. He told them that he had undertaken his long journey expressly to see what the spiritual wants of the country were, and that he meant to spare no pains or toil to supply them. The next day the little party started again, this time with a team of eight oxen to draw the cart (which had been patched up), the Bishop riding a horse lent him by Mr. Jenkins, and reached the Umzumvoobo River, where they were the guests of a trader, Mr. Hancock, who took them nine miles down the river to its mouth the next day; and the Kafirs being tired, the Bishop took an oar, thereby awakening many memories of past times, though in Oxford days his boat was not surrounded as now by hippopotami! He went on through Buntingville Station, Morley Station, Beecham Wood, Butterworth—all Wesleyan Missions—at which place he spent Sunday, July 21st, and again preached to the people. "I am thankful," he says, "for the opportunity of doing so, however imperfectly. . . . The people soon understood that a 'Great Teacher' had come among them, and they would not have been easy or satisfied if I had not addressed them. . . . The sight to-day has been a most interesting one. The whole people of this land are ready, at least, to hear the Gospel; they are willing to attend Christian assemblies and schools, to read our books, and be taught by us. The field is white already unto the harvest, but the labourers are few; so far as the Church is concerned, alas! they are none. It is most distressing to think how unfaithful to our trust we have been and are. Thy Kingdom come!"

On July 22nd the Bishop started for King William's Town, having to cross the very difficult drift of the Kei river, where, to begin with, they found two wagons, each drawn by more than twenty oxen, stuck fast, and this caused some delay, and there were also visible the ruins of two other wagons which had come to grief in this dangerous place. Such a journey was not the time for much correspondence, but the Bishop managed to write a letter that evening, which is a good illustration of his energy, mental and bodily.

To John Mowbray, Esq., and Mrs. Mowbray.

"Banks of the Kei, July 22nd, 1850.

"My dear Mowbray—I sit up in a trader's wagon, in which I have taken refuge for the night just previous to my arrival at King William's Town, to reply to your and dear Lizzy's letters of February, which I received at Natal. I know that if I do not write before I get again immersed in the business of the Diocese, I shall have no time. First then, let me say that although my responsibilities, as godfather, to children whom I never see, and to whom I find it difficult for several reasons to write, cause me much anxiety, I cannot refuse the office of sponsor to *yours*, though my poor prayers will, in all human probability, be the chief, perhaps the only, service I can render it. . . . Though I can read but little in my present wanderings, and hear less of the Church at home, I take as deep an interest as ever in all that is passing; and I do not cease to pray that God's Holy Spirit may ever be with her, and guide her into all truth, aiding her in this her hour of trouble and rebuke, and supplying to her what is wanting in her. Earnestly do I hope that no spirit of impatience or distrust of God's Mercy and Love towards her, may prevent her sounder members from combining heartily, courageously, perseveringly, for a redress of her many grievances. These must be content to witness for God's Truth and Cause, without being over anxious as to results. Let us be satisfied with doing our duty, and leave the rest to God.

"I am just returning from Natal through a very interesting country, which, however, I have found it most difficult to pass through. I have never before suffered so much from fatigue and anxiety. My cart has been twice turned completely over, and is nearly broken in pieces; my horses have been all but knocked up. I have walked the greater part of the way, and had nothing but the hard ground for my bed. For six days I passed through a country burnt with fire, and totally without inhabitants, and I had nothing but a bit of cheese left when I reached human habitations. But, thank God, I have been quite well, though somewhat reduced in size. I am very thankful to have seen the whole country, for I have realised what the actual condition of the Diocese is, which I never could have done without seeing it. There are nearly one million of heathen within this Diocese under British government or influence. We *must* have an extensive Mission amongst them. I do believe that nowhere is there a more important work lying before the Church. I am so impressed with the necessity of our entering upon it *now at once*, that if funds are not forthcoming and men too, I must, if God spare me, and health and strength be given, return to England next year for a whole year's agitation. I shall dread it, for I think it will wear me out; but if I can leave the Diocese, I certainly shall. God helping, we will no longer endure the reproach of being almost the only one of the twenty religious communions in this land that is holding back from the work of the conversion of the heathen. . . . I feel much my long absence from dearest wife and children. But it is for God's work that I leave them, and therefore I am content. I have gone through some strange scenes and some hard work during the last month. . . . I have reason to thank God that I have been preserved hitherto in health and safety. I am now in British Kaffraria, and am sleeping surrounded by several men much engaged in the late war. One fine fellow is known to have killed some of our officers on a mountain close by. I am now going to the Eastern Province, where many anxieties and much labour await me. I trust I may reach home by Christmas. Probably a few months after my return I may have to sail for England, but this must depend upon circumstances. If I come, it will be to work, and not to be with those I love. —Ever your affectionate uncle, "R. CAPETOWN."

On July 24th the Bishop arrived at King William's Town, where he was received by Colonel Mackinnon, the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria; and here again the usual kind of work met him, besides packets of letters and papers. Speaking of these town visits, his wife, in a letter to England, says: "It is wonderful how Robert gets through all he does, especially being so anxious about everything he has in hand. We can scarcely guess at the amount of business of one kind or another which comes before him in each place he visits, and all mixed up with calls and conversation, which break up all his time, and scarce ever leave him alone; but what we send him up every post from this end is almost enough to occupy one man's time and thoughts:—whole budgets of correspondence, many of them of a most annoying and harassing nature. Now several of the Churches begun to be built since his last Visitation are nearly finished, and nearly all of them are in debt, and apply to Robert, as a matter of course, to help them through, and think it very hard if he will not. One is actually stopped half-way up, and they say it is all his fault! Every fault or injudiciousness that any Clergyman is guilty of is laid upon him; and, on the other hand, it is all his fault that Mr. —— has not made his appearance; and there was nearly a rebellion in Graham's Town because the Bishop would not provide for the educational wants of the people."

From King William's Town the Bishop visited East London, the port of British Kaffraria, with Mr. Fleming, Military Chaplain, confirming, etc.; and on August 1st they made a visit to the Chief Umhalla's kraal. The Bishop gives an account of their interview: "After getting a little food we walked down in the dark to pay the Chief a visit, but we had hardly left our tent before we met two of his messengers coming to ask for a present. We found him sitting in a large smoky hut in the midst of his counsellors, wives, children, etc. There was a fire in an earthen basin in the middle of the hut, which partially lighted it. Most of the people were smoking, and Mr. Shepstone informed me that they had been drinking beer, but this was discontinued before our arrival. We crept into this crowded reception-hall with some difficulty, and were nearly blinded by the smoke. After I had seated myself on the floor, I bade Mr. Shepstone explain to the Chief who I was. He got up to welcome me and shake hands. I asked him if he remembered ever meeting me before. He perfectly remembered the two occasions on which we had met, and spoke of circumstances connected with them. I explained to him that I was travelling through the country over which I had spiritual charge; that I had been from home four moons, and should be still journeying for five moons more; that in the course of my travels I had arrived at King William's Town, and had come expressly from that place to see him. . . . He thanked me, and said he was very glad to see me. I then told him that I had not yet heard of the teachers whom I had sent for—that they had to come a great way from beyond the sea, but that I hoped they would soon arrive. He said I must send him the Archdeacon, who had been to see him; that he had taken a great fancy to him, and would have him for his teacher. I told him the Archdeacon could not be spared, and enumerated all the places he had to look after, but said I would send him a good man whom he would like, and who would teach him about God. Umhalla then said that 'he was a great chief, and I was a great chief;' that he would be very glad if I would come and teach him, but that he knew this was impossible, for he had heard how many places I had to go to, but that if I could not come myself, I must send him the Archdeacon. Thinking that it was from pride that he desired to have one of our great men to teach a great chief, I told him that the son of one of our great chiefs in England (Mr. Douglas) was willing to come and teach him. Umhalla said 'Very well, he might come too, but he hoped I would let him have the Archdeacon.' This he repeated twenty times during the course of our conversation, which lasted two hours. If I felt quite sure that he appreciated in any degree the noble character of my dear friend and brother, and desired to have one so eminently qualified for the work with him for his own sake, I should augur well for the success of our future Mission; but I could not quite satisfy my mind that this was the case, though I think it far from improbable.

"I gave the Chief a blanket with red stripes, and Mr. Fleming gave some beads and knives to his children. He told us he had ten wives and twenty-six children;—some of these had very sweet countenances. I then endeavoured to turn the discourse to religious subjects. Umhalla assented to all I said and told him, but did not seem much interested, although he asked me questions about the soul coming back after death to visit those who are yet in the flesh. Like most of the heathen in this land, he professed to assent to the truth of there being but one God. . . . All his people listened with much interest to what was passing, and he was so much excited that the perspiration ran down his naked body during the greater part of our interview. After taking some sour milk we parted very good friends. I told him I always prayed for him and his people to God, and should continue to do so; that though I was a Chief, yet I was but chief minister or servant; and that if God had not given me other work to do, I would willingly settle down amongst his nation, and teach them the knowledge of the One True God and Jesus Christ His Son. He thanked me, saying he must see me before I went in the morning. Accordingly, before I had washed myself in the river, he came up with most of his wives to introduce them. We waited till we had had some breakfast, and then received him in our tent, and the others at the door. They speedily ate and drank up all that was left, and we had some more friendly talk about the Mission. Whatever may be his motives, I am sure that he will be thankful to have Clergymen for his tribe. It may be that he thinks they will befriend him with the civil power, or improve his people in worldly knowledge, or give him presents (though I specially impressed upon him that they would be poor men, and could not give presents, and that he must help them), or bring a *winkel* (shop) in their train; but, whatever be his motive, he will be glad, I think, to see a teacher come into his land. God grant that such may be speedily raised up. . . . In my further conversation with Umhalla, I endeavoured to impress upon him that our motives in coming to him were to do him good in this world and in that which is to come; that we were not soldiers, or traders, or Government officers, but men of God, who wished to teach him the things of God. I liked his whole manner, in spite of my mistrust of him . . . and would fain hope that this poor savage is not all hypocrisy, however bad his general character may be. We are apt, I think, to judge too severely of the heathen. What can be expected from these poor Kafirs? They are brought up generation after generation, amidst scenes of depravity and vice, which could hardly be conceived by those unacquainted with heathenism. They have nothing around to raise and improve them; they have been nurtured amid war and rapine, and have been in deadly conflict with us from childhood. The greater number of Europeans with whom they have mixed, and do mix, have not sought to do them good, but have let them see that they despise them, and regard them as no better than dogs; and it is we that have taught them to drink. It is a sad fact, true of this as of all other colonies, that the native population becomes worse and not better for its contact with civilisation and a professedly Christian people. . . . Umhalla, at parting, gave me his assegai as a token of friendship, and that there should be no more wars between us."

On the 3rd of August the Bishop left King William's Town, and re-entered the Colony, going to Fort Peddie, where he found plenty of work—confirming (preparing his candidates himself), churchings, baptisms, sick-visiting, services, sermons and meetings. "I feel," he says in his Journal of that day, "that no man can bear the wear and tear of the work 'which cometh on me daily' for any great length of time; but I am content to bear it, so long as God enables me, and I can in any way serve Him Whose I am, and to Whom I have pledged my life. The responsibilities and anxieties, however, arising out of the circumstances of this Diocese are very great." After enumerating these, pecuniary, political, local, and moral, including "the agitation which has arisen within the Mother Church in consequence of a recent judgment,[1] which has its reverberation here," he goes on to say: "One great consolation, however, I am permitted to enjoy. There is not one of the Clergy whom I have brought out who is not doing well in his parish, and some have been eminently successful in rearing up infant Churches in fields too long neglected. If God be with us, we need fear nothing."

A ride of some forty-five miles on the 5th took the Bishop to Graham's Town; the Archdeacon and Clergy, Colonel Somerset, and others, meeting him at a fort fifteen miles from that place. He remained there a week, his time fully occupied in making arrangements, receiving and returning parishioners' visits, and discussing matters of deep interest to the Church with the Archdeacon, "besides confirming, preaching, etc." The Churchwardens and Vestry presented him with a warm address of thanks for all he had done among them, and the Bishop replied in his usual hearty way, expressing his strong conviction that a subdivision of the Diocese was the only way by which its needs could be in any way properly supplied,—a point which was daily becoming more urgent to his own mind. The Bishop proceeded to visit Bathurst, the Kowie River, Southwell, Salem, Olifant's Hoek, Quagga's Flat, Commando Kraal on the Sunday River, and arrived at Port Elizabeth on August 24th, whence the following letter was written:—

To the Rev. Charles Gray.

"Port Elizabeth, August 24th, 1850.

. . . "I have now been out nearly five months of my Visitation, and have, thank God, finished half my work. There is, however, before me still a very anxious journey through this Eastern Province. Not that there are any special causes for anxiety, but there is so much to be done everywhere, such a multitude of things requiring careful consideration, and such a risk of bankruptcy amid it all, that I do not know how I shall get through. Could I but only learn, as I ought to do, to cast all my care upon God, assured that He careth for me, I should have more peace and comfort than I now enjoy. I hope to reach home on Christmas Eve, but this will depend upon my being able to keep my engagements for the four next months, which is scarce to be expected, as this is the rainy season. Hitherto, however, I have never been delayed an hour by a river—which very few can say who have travelled in South Africa so much as I have done.

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[1] In the Gorham case.

"I shall, I hope, shortly send to England a Declaration from the Bishop and Clergy of this Diocese, respecting the necessity of allowing Convocation to deliberate and legislate for the Church.[1] The State now almost assumes to be

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[1] This Declaration was as follows: "We, the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Cape Town, under a deep sense of the duty we owe to God and His Church, and after seeking in earnest prayer for the guidance of His Holy Spirit, do feel that an obligation is laid upon us by the present circumstances of the Church in England, as well for the purpose of exhibiting our sympathy with her, to whom we are bound by so many ties of love and gratitude, as for disabusing the minds and quieting the consciences of the people committed to our care, to make this our solemn declaration.

"I. That we do most cheerfully and willingly acknowledge to belong to the Queen's Majesty 'that prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself,—that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers' (Art. xxxvii.)

"II. But, whereas to the Church of God alone has been entrusted by Her Divine Head the keeping of the Faith once delivered to the Saints, and consequently 'Authority in controversies of Faith' (Art. xx.): and whereas this office of the Church hath been ever allowed so far as we know by all Christian States: And whereas it is most certain that the title of the Church of England in particular, freely and effectually to exercise this office, is bound up with the most ancient rights and liberties of the realm, and is thus part and parcel of the inheritance of Englishmen by Magna Charta 'confirmed to them for ever,' most plainly acknowledged in many legislative enactments since, and never at any time revoked: And whereas it is equally certain that by immemorial usage, confirmed by many Statutes, a National Synod is the true Church of England by representation (Canon the Church. It will soon begin to frame a creed of its own, which it will require the Church to teach. It seems to me that the very Truth of God, and the very existence of the

cxxxix.) : And whereas it appears that a Court has been recently established as the Supreme Court of Appeal in England, in matters affecting the Faith, by Act of Parliament, without the consent of the Church,—which Court may be composed mainly, if not entirely, of persons alien from, or even positively hostile to, the Church : And whereas the said Court has itself declared its own incompetency directly to decide points of doctrine, though it is currently believed to have done so by implication : We do further declare that we cannot consider this Court as entitled to express the judgment of the Church of England in points of doctrine ; and therefore, while we are ready and anxious to listen dutifully to the acknowledged voice of the Church, we cannot accept from such a Court any interpretations or decisions in a Controversy of Faith.

"And we do moreover fervently hope and pray that Her most gracious Majesty the Queen, in the exercise of her undoubted prerogative, may be moved to protect the ancient liberties of the Church of England, and to remove those obstacles which at present prevent the Church from meeting to deliberate in a free and lawful Synod, —not only upon such questions pertaining to the Faith as have recently been brought into dispute, but also upon such other subjects as affect the vital interests of the Church."

With this Declaration the Bishop sent a private letter to Archbishop Sumner :—

"Burghersdorp, October 12th, 1850.

"My dear Lord—I do not know in what light your Grace may view the document which I have forwarded to you ; but for myself and my brethren who have signed it, I will say that, in transmitting it, we feel we are discharging a very solemn duty at a most critical period of our Church's history.

"I have for years felt very uneasy at the gradual encroachment of the Civil power upon the Church's liberties. It has long appeared to me quite clear that there is an effort on the part of many to merge the Church in the State. Every fresh circumstance that arises developes this design more and more convincingly to my mind. As whatever tends to injure or destroy the Mother Church has a very direct bearing upon ourselves, we shall not, I trust, be deemed intrusive in giving utterance to our sentiments upon those matters of grave importance which are agitating the Church at home.

"I am not ignorant of the difficulties which beset the whole question of Convocation. But, be they what they may, I am satisfied that the time has come for the Church to demand for herself the free exercise of her inherent rights. For myself, indeed, I will say that I do not recognise, and by God's Grace I trust I never shall, any Court as entitled to represent the Church of England, except it have the sanction of a free and lawful Synod of that Church.

"It is my daily prayer that God may guide and bless your Grace in the very anxious and difficult and important office you fill in times of great trial and danger to our branch of the Church of Christ.—I remain, my dear Lord, your Grace's faithful and affectionate servant in Christ, R. CAPETOWN."

Church, are in danger of being denied, destroyed, by the world. Convocation is the only remedy for you in England. If it

This was acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

"To the Lord Bishop of Capetown. Addington, January 17th, 1851.

"My dear Lord—I write to acknowledge the Declaration which you have transmitted to me, signed by yourself and your Clergy, respecting the Supreme Court of Appeal now established by law in England, and beg you to be assured, and to assure the Clergy of your Diocese, that their Memorial shall be deposited in the Library at Lambeth, among other documents connected with the Church.

"The subject of the Declaration is one on which opinions (as I hope) may honestly differ. I, for my part, cannot separate *the Church* from the Laity belonging to it; and I should be sorry to see any Synod erected with governing power composed of the ministers of the Church alone. Of the danger of such a system we have sufficient evidence in the Church of Rome.

"I have read with great interest the report of your proceedings in your Diocese, and the benefits which appear to have resulted from them. May strength be granted you to continue your abundant and self-denying labours, and may a blessing be granted to them in great and increasing measure.—I remain, my dear Lord, very faithfully yours, J. B. CANTUAR."

This letter drew forth an explanation from the Bishop of Cape Town :—

"Cape Town, April 3rd, 1851.

"My dear Lord—I beg to thank your Grace for your kind note of January 17th. I should not have troubled you so soon with another letter, had not a single expression in your note conveyed the idea that your Grace is under the impression that the Bishop and Clergy of this Diocese meant by their late Declaration to separate the Church from the Laity belonging to it. It is only due to myself and the Clergy to say that this was far from our intention. None of us, I imagine, in the least apprehended that we should be understood to restrict the word Church to the Clergy only; nor is it our desire 'to see any Synod erected with governing power composed of the ministers of the Church alone.' But we, in common I believe with all Colonial Churches, feel hampered at every step for want of a 'governing power' so constituted that all Churchmen, Clergy and Laity, can, with a safe conscience, submit to its authority; and we think we see our whole Communion suffering from the same cause. But a governing power suited to the present circumstances of our Church throughout the world we are persuaded can only be obtained through means of our existing Convocations. We entreat, therefore, that these, with all their anomalies and defects, may be permitted, in the first instance, to deliberate, even though it were exclusively, on this one subject—the remodelling of their own Constitution. I should hope that all, or nearly all, are agreed that the Laity in full communion with the Church have rights which may not be overlooked. What the exact limits of those rights may be I do not undertake to say. For myself, however, I may observe that I do not gather from Scripture, or from the earliest and purest ages of the Church, that they had any voice in *defining* the doctrines of the Faith, whatever may have been their privileges in the way of assenting to the same. Trusting that your Grace will excuse my troubling you on this subject, which I do in order to remove any misapprehension which might exist, I remain ever your faithful and obedient servant, R. CAPETOWN."

does not soon speak, the Church will merge in the State; and the heterogeneous elements of which the British Government is composed will become a new form of Antichrist, which it is already pronounced to be by the Dutch in this Colony. We shall be cautious in any steps we may take; but you may depend upon it, we do not mean to compromise God's Truth, happen what will. So far as I can see of our work at present in this Eastern Province, it is advancing as rapidly—more rapidly—than we could have hoped. There is much jealousy on the part both of Dutch and English at the progress made, and all point to it. The Methodists will make a great push to get endowments, and threaten to upset Sir Harry Smith's Government if they do not. The new Government begins its deliberations in another fortnight. The elected members consist of two Dutch Churchmen; Fairbairn (the prime agitator, who attends church, but is a bitter Independent); Sir A. Stockenstrom, a Lutheran; and two Methodists. . . . I contemplate spending a whole year in a home agitation, if my health and energies should prove equal to it. This Diocese *must* be subdivided. I do not know how I shall bear another year and a half absence from my children, and perhaps from dearest Sophy, who is doubtful whether she ought to accompany me or not. But if it is needful for the work, we shall do it, whatever the consequences may be. . . . There must be three Bishops—the work cannot be done with less. My plan is to get Archdeacon Grant, or some very able man, for Cape Town, and the Archdeacon at Graham's Town, and for me to go to Mission work at Natal. This country wants an abler, and in every sense a better man than me. Think of a charge embracing 800,000 souls! If it be not sinful to say so, I would gladly go and take charge of one of my proposed Mission Institutions in Natal. I believe I could work *that*, but I feel (God knows how keenly) quite unequal to the charge now upon me."

To Mrs. Charles Gray.

"Port Elizabeth, August 26th, 1850.

My dear Aggy—I must send you a line, if it be only to comfort you with the information that I have lately taken to preach in the Methodist Chapels! I have preached there three times, and am in high favour with that respectable Society in consequence, as you will see by the Methodist newspaper of this Colony. The Archdeacon has been preaching in a Moravian chapel, so you see we are in a fair way of getting rid of our bigotry! I could not well avoid addressing the poor heathen at the Mission when sharing the hospitality of the Missionary, even if I wished to do so, which was not the case. Indeed I bless God that I have been privileged to call the heathen to the knowledge of Him, and would gladly give myself wholly to that work, if it were His good Will. You would have been interested could you have been with me that night which I spent at Umhalla's Kraal. He pleaded most earnestly for the Archdeacon as his Missionary. But it is impossible to spare him, though he would make a wonderful Missionary. His heroic character is, however, telling powerfully in the Diocese."

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Port Elizabeth, August 31st, 1850.

. . . "I have seen quite enough already, since I have been in the Eastern Province, to be satisfied that the Church is in a totally different position to what it was two years ago. There is life everywhere — all are satisfied of this. I know the Roman Bishop speaks of our having done wonders. The Dutch ask their ministers why the head of *their* Church does not go about and see to their spiritual wants being provided for. The Methodists are very jealous. . . . We shall have a storm within a month in the new Legislative Assembly, but I think we shall not be *persecuted* at present. . . . I am spending a fortnight in this town, the most rising, and one of the most important in the whole Colony, but which I have regarded as in a state of spiritual slumber. It has been quite a thorn in the side of our Church. . . . Since I have been here I have been speaking very plainly, and preaching almost daily; and a spirit has been roused. I have consequently addressed to the members of the

Church the inclosed letter, which the Churchwardens have published.[1] We have since had two meetings, and the money will be raised. I now want a Clergyman: God grant he may be an efficient one. No man would be too good; but there is nothing to tempt any one. A new district parish out of a Colonial seaport—with no stipend except what will arise from the Offertory—no church, school, or congregation—plenty of suspicion, jealousy, coldness—are no great baits. Well, if any one comes to this, he will, I think, at least have zeal; but if he is to succeed he must have judgment also. I must not, however, do the people an injustice. I feel assured that if the Pastor *takes* he will experience abundance of kindness, and rally round him a good body of Churchmen before two years are over. But caution and discretion will both be much needed. I pray you send me a man if you can find one. He shall have bread and cheese; I can promise him nothing more. . . . You talk of the possibility of a Methodist coming out for the Mission: I distrust the Methodists—not their sincerity or zeal, but their self-denial and self-discipline. Methodism does not seem at all the system to make a good Missionary. I have not seen one that at all comes up to my idea of a Missionary. . . . I have conversed freely during this Visitation with all religionists: the only fault that I can find urged against the Clergy of the Church is their exclusiveness—not attending the worship of the sects, religious breakfasts, Bible Society meetings, etc. . . . I purpose, D.V., leaving this Diocese soon after July 1st, 1851, for the purpose of an agitation which I shall carry on daily, if God enable me to do so. The points I shall urge will be the College, maintenance of ministry, missions, subdivision of the Diocese into three. I am quite sure the Church is not at all alive to the immensity of the work before her in South Africa. You may expect shortly to receive a 'Solemn Declaration' from the Bishop and Clergy of this Diocese. We refuse to recognise any other body than Convocation as expressing the voice of the

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[1] This letter was to explain how matters stood, what part of the expense of church and second Priest at Port Elizabeth could be contributed, and what the inhabitants must do to help themselves.

Church. . . . I shall be glad to hear from you from your new home. . . . The removal from Sutton must have been a trial to you, both beloved as I doubt not you were. 'Here we have no continuing city, we seek one to come. This is not our rest.' The snapping of our earthly ties is a great help to those who wish to live for another world."

The time spent in Port Elizabeth, if satisfactory to the Bishop, was certainly no rest. One day only he took some relaxation, in the shape of a ride to the Retief Lighthouse, just finishing, on the coast. During the twelve days he spent there he spent some time daily, according to a notice given, in the vestry, ready to see any persons who might wish to seek spiritual counsel and help, and he said that the result was most satisfactory, adding that he was "very anxious that the Clergy, wherever it is practicable, should adopt this plan, which I myself followed in England, of sitting at stated periods in the vestry for the purpose of seeing those who wish to seek their spiritual counsel. I am perfectly satisfied that there are some persons in every parish who are most anxious to have close confidential intercourse with God's ministers, but who know not how to approach them. This practice of sitting in the vestry to receive them opens a way for such intercourse, of which I find the people in this Diocese well inclined to avail themselves."

The Bishop left Port Elizabeth on September 5th, consecrated the church at Sidbury on the 7th, and on the 9th returned to Graham's Town, where a "busy and anxious week" followed;—a more than usually heavy press of diocesan business, and the examination of candidates for Holy Orders, which the Bishop shared with Archdeacon Merriman. On Sunday, September 21st, he ordained one Deacon and four Priests, and the next day a Synod of the Archdeaconry met and spent two days in conference. The day that he left Graham's Town, the Bishop writes: "Slept at the neat little inn at the Koonap; I was thankful to have a good night's rest, and a little cessation from exhausting business. I have every reason to be thankful that God preserves me in health amid incessant and anxious toil. I do not think, during the time I have spent at Graham's Town, I have had more than an hour or two of leisure.

"Indeed, I have been obliged to leave it with much that ought to have been done, left undone; and much more done I fear, in a slovenly way, though I have worked, I may fairly say, night and day. My dear friend and brother the Archdeacon seemed almost worn out when I left." The Bishop went on to Alice, Fort Hare, Fort Beaufort, and on October 1st started to ride through the Winterberg, with several gentlemen as his companions. He confirmed, held services, examined schools, etc., at various small places, arriving at Shiloh,[1] where the Bishop's cart was to meet him, on the 7th. Here he was the guest of the Moravian Missionaries, whose work he always considered greatly superior to that of any other protestant Missions, an opinion confirmed in this case.

Thence he went to Kama's Town, and on the 9th October Kama, the chief, came to visit the Bishop, and he proceeded to Burghersdorp, spending some roughish nights on sofas or chairs, though no longer outspanning; happily, as the weather had become intensely cold, and there was ice of some thickness, with a cutting wind. Burghersdorp proved a peculiarly desolate place, and the Bishop wondered "what local advantage could have tempted any one to fix upon such a spot for a village." However he found spiritual work to do here, and after spending Sunday, October 13th, there, left it, finding that on that side, at all events, his visit had been satisfactory. His next point was Aliwal North, a village situate in a fine plain on the banks of the Orange River, and likely to increase in importance, as being in the direct line from the seaport of East

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[1] The Bishop's tenderness for animals was shown again in this journey when one of the horses was taken ill, and the Hottentots in charge not knowing what to do, the Bishop bled him, and having to leave him on the road, "did not sleep much, being anxious about the horse," and at half-past four the next morning started to go back and see after him, taking a bottle of wine, with which he drenched the poor beast, and then sent him gently on to the nearest Kafir police station, returning himself to Shiloh after his three hours' ride "with a lighter heart."

London to Bloemfontein. Returning to Burghersdorp, the Bishop found several people waiting for him who sought spiritual guidance, among them one most anxious to be confirmed (he had already held a Confirmation in the place), and so well prepared, that as he was not likely to be there again for three years, he confirmed her privately at 6 A.M. the next morning before starting for Cradock. At the midway halt, the Bishop met with a rare instance of Dutch inhospitality. He was coldly received because he was an Englishman, and having retired to his cart after a comfortless supper, the Boer drew from Ludwig who his guest was, and said he would not have given him that had he known who he was. Like others of his people, he knew of no Bishops save those of the Roman Church, for whom they entertained a hereditary abhorrence, and would not give them shelter or Godspeed. The next morning the whole family refused to hold any intercourse with him, and the goodwife refused him even a piece of bread to break his fast, though he had just paid her double what she could have expected. Such instances as these, however, were rare.

On S. Luke's Day the Bishop reached Cradock, and became the guest of the parish priest whom he had sent there, Mr. Gray. Here, as usual, he had a meeting of the parishioners, a plan he always adopted, finding that he could speak more easily and familiarly about many things than from the pulpit; as also that it was a means of coming into closer contact with the laity than could otherwise be done, and of drawing them into sympathetic interest with what was moving in the Church. His natural humility made the Bishop anxious that too great a difference should not be made between the Bishop and Priest, except as regarded the office, and he declined having such arrangements made as tended in any way to his own personal dignity.

His travelling adventures were not quite over. On the 23rd he lost his way, while going to Graaf Reinet, and the next day the iron axle of his cart (which had just been fully repaired, as it was supposed) broke. The Bishop's first feeling was thankfulness that this had not happened between Natal and

Graham's Town, when he must have left cart and luggage to their fate. As it was, there was some difficulty, and a loss of three days, during which he was detained at a hospitable farm; and after all, the Bishop had to go to Graaf Reinet in a borrowed cart, his own being taken there on the top of an ox-wagon! Somerset was the next point, whence he wrote—November 4th, 1850—"We are at this time in some degree of anxiety about the Kafirs. They are undoubtedly suffering much from a drought which has continued nearly nine months. While in this distress a prophet has risen up amongst them who promises great things, but who is probably a mere tool in the hands of the Chiefs, who see that their power is gradually diminishing away. It is still doubtful whether we shall have another war, but I trust not.[1] Sir Harry Smith is now in King William's Town in the midst of them. In this village there are one or two families who have left their houses, unthatching their roof, and driving away their stock, fearing an irruption. The whole of this Eastern Province is in a distressed state, both from the drought and from loss of stock by theft. Men lose as many as 600 sheep in a year, eaten up by the Kafirs, who live freely upon them, and whom it is very difficult to detect. Our political agitations too are very violent, but the English are beginning to feel that under a representative government they will be mere bondservants to the Dutch Boers.

"In the midst of all my troubles and confusions, however, it is pleasing God, I trust, to bless our work very abundantly. We shall indeed have a hard struggle to maintain ourselves if, as I expect, our ecclesiastical grants are withdrawn; but we shall, I trust, do it. The Clergy everywhere are being thrown more and more for their support upon the weekly offertory, which is working very well."

November 6th the Bishop started for Uitenhage, sleeping at the foot of the Zuurberg in a shop full of goods of all sorts, and the next day they began the ascent of the mountains at dawn. It was a hard one; and the Bishop says: "I took my usual post at the head of the leaders, but when we got well off could not keep up with them, and was trod upon. By our joint efforts we afterwards brought the luggage up. On these occasions I am sometimes much amused at thinking how people would stare in England at seeing a Bishop in his shirt-sleeves, with a box or bag on his back, ascending an African mountain! We arrived about ten o'clock, by a very difficult road, at the first convict station. . . . There are three stations on this mountain, and 350 convicts. Of these about forty are English, sixty Kafirs, the remainder Hottentots and people of Dutch extraction. . . . I spoke on religious subjects with some of the Englishmen whom I found in confinement." Thence the Bishop returned to Port Elizabeth, whence he writes: "November 18th.—It is with much satisfaction that I turn my face homewards again. I have still a journey of about 700 miles before me, but I shall be shortening the distance daily. My energies, after eight months' incessant labours, are beginning to flag. . . . I am sleeping this evening on the banks of the Gamtoos River. Part of our journey lay along the sea-coast. The sight of the sea always gives me pleasure, though in this land it is not unmixed with sadness, for it recalls recollections of the past. There is a satisfaction, however, in merely watching the *κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα*,[1] and this satisfaction I have enjoyed to-day."

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[1] This hope, unhappily, proved a false one.

Cold and wet weather, more suitable to English ideas of the month of November than those common to that season in South Africa, attended the Bishop to Schoonberg, whence his cart was sent on to George, while he made a detour, riding over the Devil's Kop with Mr. Welby, through the beautiful Knysna to Belvidere; thence to Plettenberg Bay, where he confirmed a number of coloured people prepared by Mr. Bull, the catechist resident there. One of these candidates was a woman of ninety, the history of whose conversion greatly interested the Bishop. "She was a slave, and being out with her mistress one fine night, the latter asked whether she knew who made the stars and moon. She replied, 'Yes, the white man.' Upon her mistress telling her that it was a far greater Being than man,

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[1] Keble's "many-twinkling smile of ocean," taken from Æschylus.

Who lived in the Heavens, and was called God, she was deeply impressed, and from that hour believed in Him. Some time after her instructor had great difficulty in making her understand the nature of the Crucifixion, and the doctrine of the Atonement. She understood, however, and realised the whole on being shown a picture of the Saviour on the Cross. This happened some years ago. Upon these two great truths of natural and revealed religion she had fed, until she had an opportunity of being farther instructed in the Christian faith. She was one of those baptized a few months since. Her case seems to show that pictures, carefully and cautiously used, may be of much service in the instruction of the heathen."

Returning to Melville, the Bishop (after personally examining and instructing them) baptized fifteen Hottentot, Fingo, and Mozambique adults, besides confirming, etc. December 2nd found him at George, where the most interesting event was an application from Mr. Niepoth, a Dutch teacher and missionary, to be admitted into the English Church, on the ground of his belief in the necessity of an Episcopate, and the neglect for and scorn of the coloured people shown by his own sect. Mr. Niepoth was received after due examination, and a hundred baptized members of his congregation followed his steps. The Bishop consecrated the new church at George on December 7th, and the same day instituted Mr. Welby to the Archdeaconry of George, which, as he says, is in extent equal to several European dioceses; and the next day he ordained one Deacon (Mr. Henery) and two Priests (Mr. Andrews and Mr. Baker). "The Deacon," he says, "will have no license to preach, but will read Homilies. It is my intention to have a non-preaching body of Deacons in this Diocese, and to keep the Order as much as possible to the duties prescribed for it in the Ordinal."

Mr. Badnall joined the Bishop at George, much to his satisfaction, and he expressed himself as altogether much pleased with his Visitation in that town. "There is evidently a good work going on in this parish in the souls of the people; and, indeed, it could scarcely be otherwise under the ministry of such a man as Archdeacon Welby, who is singularly endowed with gifts and graces for the work to which he is called." Anxious tidings, however, came in as to the general state of the country. Sir Harry Smith, who had returned to Cape Town, having, as he imagined, frightened the Kafirs into submission, had been obliged to sail for East London again with 400 men of the 73rd and some artillery, and there seemed but too much reason to fear a fresh outbreak of war. The Bishop next went to Swellendam, whence he writes :—

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Swellendam, December 14, 1850.

"I have been anxious to write to you on one or two points for some time, but really have not been able, for I find it more difficult every day to get through the work that lies before me. And this I hope will be accepted as an excuse by my dear brothers, to whom I should wish to write much oftener than I do. You have the burden of doing my work, with all its responsibilities and anxieties, and to you, therefore, I write more frequently than to any one else. . . . About the men I want . . . I think it right to say in the present state of things in our Church, that I should not wish to receive any Clergyman into the Diocese who does not believe that all Infants in Baptism receive remission of original sin, and help to contend against the world, the flesh, and the devil. . . My Visitation is now drawing rapidly to its close. If it please God, I shall reach home on Christmas Eve, and you may well imagine that I shall rejoice to be once more united to my dearest wife and children. I ought to be thankful that God has spared us all during this prolonged separation, and that I return home in health and strength. Sophy writes me word that Newman, Douglas, and Camilleri are all knocking up. The former expects me on my return to take his post, and let him have a run, which he well deserves. How I shall be able, amidst the press of business which awaits me, to prepare sermons for S. George's, I know not, and I want rest for my mind at least, as much as any. . . I purpose agitating at home for the subdivision of the

Diocese, the Zulu and Kafir Mission, the College, and the maintenance of our existing work. . . . The week before last I baptized seventy heathen (including children) at the Knysna. We all see that a storm is brewing. Do what we will, we cannot allay it. 'A great and effectual door is opened, and there are many adversaries.' Herod and Pontius Pilate are made friends together to crush us."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Swellendam, December 16, 1850.

. . . "I live almost entirely in public, and am quite unable to get through the amount of work which daily comes upon me. God be praised, this long Visitation of nine months is drawing to its close; and I trust that, on the Eve of our Redeemer's Birth, I may be restored to dearest wife and children. Jaded I am, and worn, and at times much depressed, but still well and strong; and, could I but have a few days of perfect rest and quiet, ready for much anxious work awaiting me on my return. But this rest of even a day I cannot get. What would I not give for a quiet week with wife and children on some barren island rock! But enough of these things.

"You will be glad, I am sure, to hear that my report of the state of the Diocese as a whole is encouraging. There is scarce a parish where a real work is not going on. The people are exerting themselves to build their churches, and help to maintain their Clergy, who are appreciated by them. But everywhere there is a growing jealousy and opposition shown on the part of those who are not of us;—not, believe me, from any want of charity, courtesy, or discretion on the part of the Clergy,[1] but from sheer force of circumstances. The anti-English spirit, the Colonial spirit, the dissenting spirit, all raise up enemies against us, and the press is almost exclusively in their hands. The state of the Mother Church, too, places no little difficulty in our way. . . . There is an immense work opening out on all hands, and we cannot cope with it without vastly enlarged means. The Diocese should assuredly be subdivided, and a better man than myself be posted in Cape Town. We want such an one as Archdeacon Grant there. . . . The English throughout the Colony are beginning to get frightened about their new constitution; and well they may, for the Dutch will undoubtedly trample upon them. We are in imminent danger of another Kafir war, if it has not already begun. Sir H. Smith is now in Kaffraria for the second time during the past month. He had returned to Cape Town, thinking that he had settled matters. He must now, I think, get possession of Sandilli's person, and make him a State prisoner. Some of the other powerful Chiefs are against war. My friend Umhalla stands aloof in dignified neutrality. The Archdeacon (Merriman) is at this moment walking down from Bloemfontein by the Caledon river to Graham's Town through the very country most exposed to an attack from the Kafirs. I am somewhat anxious about him. He will have made in six weeks an expedition of 800 miles on foot, with a pack-horse to carry a bell-tent, pots and pans, with tongue, etc., and bread. You will be glad to hear that Welby is appointed Archdeacon. He is a first-rate man, and much admired and beloved by all who know him. When I left home on this Visitation, I gave Sophy

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[1] Some of the newspapers had tried to raise the cry, so popular at the present day, of priestcraft and sacerdotalism. Mrs. Gray, alluding to this in a letter to England, says: "Robert is as gentle and conciliating as he used to be in England—smooths difficulties wherever he goes, is friends with all—dissenters, Dutch or English—and persuades them to think they agree while he is there, though perhaps they begin to fight again directly after. His Clergy are also, I think, as moderate as you would easily find a similar number in any part of England. Those in the country all seem liked in their parishes, and do not affect singularity, and I do not hear that they give any offence. Of course there must be some differences, but I do not think that more offence is given, if so much, as would certainly be the

case in any parish in England where the Church had long been sleeping under the care of some stupid old remnant of the last century. Some changes must be made, and Robert certainly is inclined to make them gently enough. . . . I believe the real thing is that the numbers of the Clergy have increased so fast, that money seems to be forthcoming for building so many churches; and the Church is beginning to be heard of and *felt* everywhere, while two years ago its very existence was almost forgotten, and people think it is getting on so fast." The Bishop's charity and moderation towards those who opposed him most bitterly was illustrated by a prominent dissenter at, * * * who did everything in his power to hinder the Church and annoy the Bishop, while the latter treated him with the greatest kindness, even giving him money, and meeting him cordially and heartily.

a letter to the Archbishop, recommending him for my successor if I never returned."

Just before leaving Swellendam the Bishop heard that his old friend, Mr. Jackson, Bishop-designate of Lyttelton, had touched at the Cape, and was with Mrs. Gray at Protea. It was a great disappointment to miss him, but there was no help for it, and the Bishop went on to Caledon, and thence to Somerset, where he intended to have slept on December 23rd; but reaching that place in good time, he pushed on to Eerste River, where he found Mrs. Gray who had ridden out to meet him, and at 6 o'clock the next morning they were in the saddle for Protea, where the Bishop once more found himself at home and surrounded by those dearest to him. "Sursum Corda," he writes in the last page of his Visitation Journal, "May each renewed mercy be regarded as a fresh call to dedicate my whole self to Him and His Service. "Let all that is within me praise His Holy Name!"

On Christmas Day the Bishop once more celebrated in the Cathedral after his nine months' absence, and a hearty address of congratulation and affection was presented to him by the Church people of Cape Town. On the Sunday following he preached, taking as his subject the words of Isaiah (xxvi. 9), "When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world shall learn righteousness"—and dwelling upon the present troubles, drought and famine in the East, unceasing rains and rust in the West, the plague of locusts, and the impending war, as signs of God's chastening Hand, visiting the land for its sins. On the last day of the year 1850 there was a late service, and the early morning of the Circumcision, 1851, celebration of Holy Communion. Coming out of the Cathedral the tidings met the Bishop that the war he had dreaded was actually begun. "The probability of this," he writes, "must have occurred to most minds; but men were sanguine to the last that it would be staved off, at least for the present. The immediate effect was that our troops, 2,500 in number, were shut up in their forts, and their communication with each other, and with the Colony, was cut off. The Governor himself, with Colonel Mackinnon, was cooped up in Fort Cox. He did not, however, remain there long; but having 250 of the Cape Corps with him, and but little forage, he cut his way through the enemy to King William's Town, distant about twenty-four miles. Colonel Somerset, who attempted to open a communication with the Governor, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of about thirty men. The Kafir Hermanus, located at the Blinkwater, within the Colony, has taken part with the enemy, and is now ravaging the Winterberg, carrying fire and sword throughout the country. Even the Hottentots of the Kat River settlement are said to be disaffected, and there is some reason to fear that Kreli and the Tambookie Chiefs are preparing to ravage the frontier. Should this be the case, the odds against us will be fearful. Fort Beaufort and Alice have each been attacked, but the enemy has been repulsed from both by the inhabitants, aided by a few soldiers. The military villages of Auckland, Woburn, and Johannasburg, have been destroyed, and the male inhabitants massacred. At Graham's Town there are no troops. The inhabitants, who are expecting to be attacked, are under arms. Straggling bodies of Kafirs wander over the whole open country. Houses and individuals have been attacked in various directions: the houses have been burnt, and the inmates, in some instances, murdered. Great efforts are made to raise levies. These consist almost exclusively of Hottentots from the Missionary Institutions (chiefly Moravian) in the west, and of Fingoes from the frontier. The English do not appear to volunteer in great numbers, and the Dutch scarce at all."

On January 6th, 1851, the Bishop wrote further to Dr. Williamson concerning this unhappy war: "You will be anxious to hear of us under our present calamities. We have been anticipating the probability of such an event, though we all hoped it might be staved off; but at last, in a moment, the Kafirs have fairly surrounded the great body of our troops under Sir Harry and Colonel Mackinnon, and we are in some anxiety about their personal safety, having had no communications from them by the last post. It does not appear that the Tambookies, 90,000 in number, who lie to the north and north-east of British Kaffraria, have as yet joined in the war, nor Kreli, who lies on our eastern border, and whose numbers are sometimes estimated at 60,000, for he has just sent an ox to Sir Harry. But the inhabitants of British Kaffraria are 80,000 in number, and all of them, with the exception of Patos tribe, about 8,000, have turned out, and are using every effort to destroy our handful of troops, which amount altogether to 3,000. The Kafirs have not yet come into the Colony in any great numbers, but they are looked for daily. The Frontier farmers have driven their flocks and herds into the interior, where they are perishing for lack of sustenance. The Archdeacon (Merriman) arrived in Graham's Town on Christmas Eve, the very day that the war broke out. He had walked 800 miles in six weeks, and for the last three weeks had been almost within a stone's throw of the Border. He writes calmly, but the Graham's Town people seem to expect instantaneous devastation. They have no troops to protect them, but a great portion of the country population has flocked in, and there are arms and ammunition for all. I have written to beg him, if possible, to send wife and children here, but the road between Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth is, I fear, not safe. There are several miles of dense bush. . . . On the Sunday previous to our hearing news of the war, I preached strongly on the subject of God's judgments on sinful nations, and warned our people that the Hand of the Lord was upon us for our sins. On the Wednesday following the fearful news arrived. On Thursday I held a Synod of the Clergy. We agreed that I should appoint a day for humiliation before God, with prayer and fasting, and prepare a special service for the occasion. We then discussed the question of the Zulu Mission, the division of the Diocese, and my return home. We had a very interesting day, and the Clergy were very kind in their expressions towards myself. Yesterday all the neighbouring Clergy preached on the subject of our present chastisements. I am fully convinced that we are suffering God's judgments for our sins, especially during the last two years: nothing could have been more wicked or rebellious than the spirit of this people during that period. Poor

Lady Smith is in much distress. I see her as often as I can, for she finds comfort in my visits. . . . The war makes me tremble for my finances. . . . What do you say to coming here to be my Metropolitan, while I move on to Mission work? I feel indignant at the Romanising members of our Church. God be praised, there is no taint of such a spirit among us here. I believe we are getting more anti-Roman from day to day, but not, I trust, less catholic, or less determined to fight the battles of our dear Mother Church, so cruelly oppressed and wounded by the world."

In his Journal, January 20th, 1851, the Bishop after repeating what he had said in the above letter about Archdeacon Merriman, goes on to say, "Had he been a week later, he would have been in imminent peril; a merciful Providence, however, watched over him. Several of the Clergy are, I grieve to say, in much danger. Mr. and Mrs. Beaver have sustained two severe attacks in Alice from the Kafirs. Fort Beaufort, where Mr. and Mrs. Wilshere live, has been also twice attacked—on the second occasion the chief Hermanus was killed, fighting in the streets. Mr. Willson at Post Retief is, perhaps, in the most perilous situation. The place has been repeatedly attacked by the Hottentots, who have now, throughout the whole of the east, joined in the rebellion. It has only a few farmers to defend it, and all communication with it has been cut off. Mr. Waters and Mr. Henchman are both in *laagers* in their respective parishes. Not one Clergyman, however, has yet abandoned his post. Mr. Boon, catechist at the Mancazana, has indeed been compelled to fly, and his home and his church (the latter only just freed from debt) have, I fear, been burnt."*

Amid all this anxiety, the Bishop returned to his work for the Diocese, in which he found a most useful and indefatigable secretary in Mrs. Gray. "It is wonderful how Sophy gets through her work," he writes (January 30th, 1851). "If you saw how much she does in the way of writing, you would pity her. She is the only person I can depend upon. Sophy copies all my correspondence into a book, and has made a most beautiful Record Book for the Diocese, which contains every document of any importance, and will some day be very useful." And writing to his sister, he says again: "I hope that you and all whom I neglect will feel that my silence is a self-denying one. I really do nothing but work, and I do everything badly because I cannot take sufficient time; and, after all, my arrears accumulate. You cannot think how much dearest Sophy takes off my hands. She spends hours daily copying for me, and keeps, very accurately, all the accounts of the Diocese."

Some of the Bishop's letters of this date will show what were his anxieties, public and private:—

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Cape Town, January 30th, 1851.

. . . "I give you an extract from a late letter of Green's about the subdivision of the Diocese:—'And now, my Lord, in conclusion, I know well the rebuke our Saviour gave S. Peter for the unfriendly act of discouraging, instead of trying to support Him, under the prospect of suffering. I know how many noble men are lost to the Colonies by their relations, under the name of friendship, playing S. Peter's part; and God forbid that I should return your many kindnesses by trying to damp your zeal or enfeeble your courage; but yet I must express a hope that, when you return to England, you will not fail to urge the division of the Diocese. We have a Governor here, another at Bloemfontein; they cry for a parliament in the Old Colony; every Governor has many assistants—all to carry on a much less difficult work than your Lordship's. I hardly know how to write, for were the work possible to be done, I *could* not write. But it is impossible, I am sure, for one man to carry out the schemes your Lordship has conceived after this Visitation; and by grasping too much everything will fail. You have honoured me so much with your confidence, that I may perhaps for a moment forget our relative positions; but it is out of pure love to you and to the Church that I feel constrained, in my first long letter, to ask you to consider well, not whether you should desist from working, but whether you should not concentrate your field. If they won't let you, forget what I have said, and come back and sacrifice your life, if it be God's Will.'

"To this I have only one or two remarks to add. It is simply impossible for a Bishop, either of Graham's Town or Cape Town, to oversee Natal. If my Mission scheme ever be carried out, there must be a Bishop on the spot. As I am not likely to return home quite so soon as I expected, I may as well tell you what I purposed doing. I had hoped to have had the opportunity of delivering my soul either at S. P. G. or elsewhere in the presence of the Bishops of our Church. I had meant to say that South Africa absolutely required three Bishops; that the Cape District needed one of far higher gifts and graces than myself; that I was ready to go to Graham's Town, Natal, or the Great Lake—*i.e.* anywhere—if one of our Church's choice sons could be found to come to Cape Town. I would not, however, move without knowing who was to succeed me. I do not think I should suit Graham's Town, and I think Merriman would be the best man for the Eastern Province. I would go, if thought desirable, and begin, as Bishop, mission work in one of the Natal locations. My chief reluctance would arise from a conviction that a better man than myself is needed for the effectual conversion of the Zulu nation. Every day I live I am more and more deeply convinced of the peculiar difficulties which beset the Church's path in this rebellious and heathen land, and of my own unfitness to be the Chief Pastor of a Church surrounded by twenty discordant religious communions, by all of which she is hated. Depend upon it, we need a really able man here. If *you* will come, I will go to Natal, or to any inferior post. . . . If we get free institutions, the English will take the place which the slaves and Hottentots once occupied under our Dutch masters. No Boers have yet turned out to fight for their country; they are cutting their own throats, while hoping to see ours cut."

One subject (already alluded to) which had given the Bishop great trouble was the condition into which the question of Marriage had fallen at S. Helena. When he went there first he found all sorts of abuses existing; the Governor was Ordinary; he had passed an Ordinance by which he gave himself the power of issuing marriage licenses, and these were granted to any one who applied, upon the payment of a fee, without any questions or precautions. On his arrival the Bishop had protested against the Governor's thus exercising Episcopal functions, and had obtained a repeal of the obnoxious Ordinance. Lord Grey hesitated to confirm the repeal, and a long series of official correspondence had gone on concerning the matter. The Bishop refers to it in the following letter to Mr. Mowbray, whom he had consulted throughout:—

"Protea, January 29th, 1851.

"My dear Mowbray . . . The accounts of Church matters at home are very distressing; they make me very unhappy, for I have not lost one particle of the interest which every true son of the Church ought to feel in his Mother's welfare. Thank God we have no Romanisers here, as far as I know. All that we can do for the Church at home is to pray for her, which I trust we do daily. . . . I now turn to the several subjects of your letter. In the present state of the Marriage question at S. Helena, I think of instructing the Clergy, before marrying parties who bring the Governor's license, to put the usual questions which are required to be put in England, and act accordingly. You will remember that the Queen's Advocate in S. Helena stated that it was *doubtful* whether the Governor could refuse licenses to *any* that applied. I know that no inquiries were made, and the Queen's Advocate states, that under the existing arrangements Jews were married by the Clergy, and great facilities were afforded to parties who touched at the island (which is *very* rarely for more than twenty-four hours). I cannot consent to allow the Clergy to be made the instruments of effecting all sorts of marriages. There is one case of bigamy which has already come before me. I shall instruct Mr. Kempthorne in this whole matter to adopt a conciliatory line, and if he is in any doubt to refer to me before acting. I am grieved to say that during the past year the spirit of the Cape has been spreading in that little island. Ours are almost the only papers they see, and they feel a greater interest in what passes in this Colony than anywhere else. K—— tells me that a radical party is agitating the parish against vesting the church now being built in the See. I understand they are about to memorialise Lord Grey on the subject. They are headed by a Jew. . . . Where else they would vest it I know not. The Patent, you know, constitutes the See a body corporate, etc., for the express purpose of affording a good and secure tenure for Church property. . . . As to the subdivision of the Diocese, I am thankful that it is decided upon. It will never do, however, for various reasons, to constitute the Eastern Province, with Natal, the Sovereignty of British Kaffraria, and the country beyond it, into one Diocese. That part of it which would be beyond this Colony would be equal in extent to Great Britain and Ireland. But, what is of more consequence, there is no communication between the respective districts, or next to none. You might as well put Natal into the Diocese of Durham! Natal must have its own Bishop, and I think it ought to be provided for first, for it requires the presence of a Bishop more than the Eastern Province, which is getting into *comparative* order. I would recommend that the Eastern Province and the Sovereignty, British Kaffraria, and the country up to the Umtata, should form the Diocese of Graham's Town, while the country beyond it, between the Quathalamba and the Kei, stretching up to Delagoa Bay, should form another. In a few years, either we must be swept away, or British rule must extend to Delagoa Bay. We must either rule the heathen, or quit the land. Where the money is to come from for founding these two Sees I know not. I do not think that a Bishop could possibly live for less than £600 a year. The expenses of a Colonial Bishop are very great. Many are the intruders on his hospitality. The number of people who come out bringing letters, which even strangers do not shrink from giving, is very great. He must give largely; and travelling, to all who do not go as my dear friend Merriman, on foot, is somewhat expensive. . . . All things considered, I do not think that the See of Graham's Town should be erected with a less endowment than £400 a year. I am quite sure that if the money can be raised, Merriman will make it go as far as any man. . . . I have considerable doubts about Merriman's accepting the office. I touched upon the subject when with him. He spoke very decidedly. I would do my best to induce him. I never intended to leave this till July, and I then meant to spend a month at S. Helena. From what you say, I shall probably defer my return till Christmas, when the Jubilee will be over, and my five years' subscriptions ended. We cannot get on without funds. The Wesleyans alone draw £10,000 a year; other Protestant sects £20,000 more!!! I shall be glad to have the statistics both for Grammar School and Cathedral. The Grammar Schools are in operation, and I may constitute a Chapter any day. If you should see your friend in Downing Street again, pray tell him that, politically speaking, we are in no better plight than last year. The opinion is rapidly gaining ground that it will never do to give us representative institutions, but that we must go back to the old system of a Governor and Executive Council. . . . Though our whole Eastern Province population is cooped up in towns and forts, and the coloured races and Hottentots, as well as Kafirs, are ravaging the country, not one Boer has, I believe, joined old Somerset, who cannot move outside his fort. They say it is our war, and we may fight it out. . . . Had the Boers come manfully forward, the war might have been brought to a close before this."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, January 30th, 1851.

. . . "You may suppose it is not with much pleasure that I think of leaving my wife and little ones, even to see all of you. I dread a campaign in England. . . . Dearest Louisa is preparing for her Confirmation, and beginning, I trust, to be really anxious about her soul. She opens her mind fully to me, though naturally reserved, and I have great reason to be thankful that I have trained her and Charlie to confess their faults to me. They now conceal nothing from me, and it enables me to help them much. . . . Poor little things! they are all full of love and tenderness. . . . I am often much depressed by the passing events in the Church at home. I think I pray for the Blessing of God to rest on our dear holy Mother, more earnestly even than for my own Diocese. Several of our Clergy here are still in much danger. Willson at Retief has been twice attacked: one Fingo was killed, and one of the attacking party—a Hottentot: Willson's servant's cap was hit—he writes very calmly. . . Mrs. Beaver at Alice had a ball close to her—Beaver mounts guard every night."

To Miss Cole.

"Cape Town, February 21st, 1851.

"I feel very anxious about Church matters at home; but have a good hope that our dear Mother, though sorely tried and chastened, will come out from her trial purified and better able to grapple with the great work God has given her to do. My most earnest prayers are offered up unceasingly for her. Would that her faithless children had more of the spirit of patient perseverance. Things cannot continue long in their present state. Justice must be done to the Church. She must have the liberty which Romanists and Methodists and Quakers have. The House of Commons is not the Church, nor can Churchmen surrender up everything they hold dear to be decided according to its will. I should have joined heartily in protesting against this Romish aggression, though I am grieved to see the tone and temper in which it is carried on. I fear the Church is the only body which will suffer by the movement, and it is suffering in many ways."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"March 3rd, 1851.

"I hear that Church matters at home are not improved. They cause me much anxiety. My own belief is that these secessions are not so much an indication of love for Romanist doctrines, as of a festering wound in our own system. The world—who can doubt it?—has the Church in its grasp, and is making her its tool and slave. Men feel and writhe under this, and at last shut their eyes and take the fatal leap, which seems to offer them an escape from it. And they will go on till either the Church is really crushed and destroyed, or until she vindicates her liberty. My nostrum is that Convocation should meet—reform itself (I mean its own constitution), that it should not have its decisions stamped with the authority of law by Parliament;—but that, instead thereof, the approval of the Laity should be requisite to give the authority of the Church to any of its enactments, except on matters of faith. The Laity might meet in a separate house. The Church *must* go to pieces, if Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, are to have the rule over it. It is enough to drive wise men mad to think that the nominee of such a body as the House of Commons should appoint all the Bishops of the Church. I fear yet more severe trials are coming upon the Church. But I have good hope that God will save and defend the soundest branch of His Church, in theory and in doctrine, anywhere existing in the world." The Bishop wrote on the subject of secession to Rome in an (undated) letter to the Bishop of Oxford: "I grieve over what you say about secession. God save men from going to Rome. Year after year I am more and more deeply convinced that her disposition and her teaching are uncatholic. But year after year I am also more deeply convinced that the Church of England's position is untenable; that the Royal Supremacy, as held in these days, is as fatal to the Church's faith as Papal Infallibility. I believe that it will break up the Church unless a remedy be found. All will come right, I believe; but the present time sorely tries our faith and patience."

The war dragged on without any visible prospect of coming to an end. March 20th, the Bishop writes:—

"I feel it right to express my conviction that neither the present Kafir war, nor the rebellion of the Hottentots, has been brought about by any oppression on the part of the Government of this country. There are features in our border policy which

I cannot approve; but our government of British Kaffraria has been wise, just, and humane. We have, it is true, held military possession of the country,—it was essential to our own safety that we should:—but we have not interfered with the government of the Chiefs more than was absolutely necessary, and when we have interfered, it has been to protect the oppressed. The real causes which have led to the present war are—I. That under the system which was established the Chiefs' power was gradually fading away; II. Cattle-stealing was put a stop to by a very efficient police; III. The distress consequent upon the severe drought of last year; and IV. The alienation of feeling between the white and coloured races, and between the English and Dutch. For the Hottentot rebellion there is no excuse whatever. The rebels of the Kat River had had one of the finest parts of the country given them to live on,—Government dealt most liberally with them. Sobriety and industry would have enabled them to take their place among the landed proprietors of the country. That the white man has failed in his duty to the coloured races in South Africa,—the Christian to the heathen,—I do not deny. I feel it to be a great reproach. But, whatever may be the amount of his short-coming in this respect, it would be a grievous wrong to assign it as a justification of the rebellion which has spread so widely over the Eastern Province."

To the Rev. HENRY GRAY.

"Protea, April 2nd, 1851.

. . . "I am nearly done up with the multiplicity of engagements and distractions in which I am involved. I hardly move off my chair from morning to night, and my pen is never out of my hand except on Fridays and Sundays, which are spent in town. Newman's absence on a tour for two months has thrown two sermons a week at S. George's on my hands, and I have some very anxious and wearing business in the East. . . . I am writing to the Bishop of Oxford in reply to his official letter about the Papal aggression, and am expressing in my own name and that of the Clergy of this Diocese our hearty concurrence in his protest and declaration. This is more than I could say for many other proceedings elsewhere. I earnestly hope that no attempt may be made by Parliament to remodel the Church on its own platform. Any interference on the part of the State will throw the Church into confusion, and probably break up the Establishment as such. Nothing would induce me to submit to the least tampering with the Prayer Book by any other body than a lawful Synod.

"You will see by the papers that our affairs do not mend here. A country could hardly be in a more disorganised condition than this part of South Africa. . . . I am very sorry that my return is likely to be delayed till Christmas, for many reasons. So far as my work here is concerned, it is of importance. Every day lost in beginning Mission work, especially in Natal, is, I feel assured, highly dangerous. That Colony has undergone a great change since I left it. It is in a rapid state of transition, for evil and not for good, and I suspect it will soon give a great deal of trouble.

"I have at length purchased this property (Protea), a large, *too* large, house, and 350 acres of land, for £3,000. We were paying a rent of £180, and could not get any house at a lower rate. I think by the sale of firewood we may make £100 a year. We have about twenty pontocs or hovels on the property. In these live coloured people, who pay a day's work per week for rent, and labour at a shilling a day instead of two whenever we want them. They are mostly Mozambique slaves, and talk neither Dutch nor English, but a kind of mixture of all languages, so that it is not possible to do them much good. We have hitherto kept a school for them. They are nearly all Mahometans or heathen. The management of this property will throw additional work upon poor Sophy, who is already overworked with copying my documents, and by increasing occupation as architect to the Diocese. . . . My children are growing apace. Charlie is going after Easter to the Collegiate School. He is a very good lad, and most honest in his confessions. I am just beginning this work with the others." . . .

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Protea, April 29th, 1851.

. . . "I feel deeply anxious about every man sent out and every new post. Humanly speaking, all depends upon the person who is first appointed to rear up a Church in this wilderness. . . . I shall be sorry when Earl Grey quits office. He has been very kind in all that I have had to do with him. Gladstone or Lord Lyttleton are the only men that I should be willing to change him for. Poor Lady Smith is overjoyed at the arrival of troops. . . . If there were a light cavalry regiment in the field, I think Sir Harry would soon bring the war to a close. The fear is, that, to save expense, he may patch up a peace. They ought to be thoroughly subdued. Sandilli should be deposed. We cannot drive them out of the Amatola, and yet to leave them there will be highly dangerous. . . Davidson is more than ever unable to work for the Diocese, and I have still about twenty cases of transfers of sites, etc., some of which have been dragging on for near two years, and I am now endeavouring to work them out myself. I feel more and more the necessity of Synodical action at home in some shape or other. We must come to this ere long, or break up."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, May 27th, 1851.

"Very little change has taken place during the last month in the aspect of affairs here. We are still playing at war with the Kafirs, without any immediate prospect of the termination of hostilities. Sir Harry, however, when he receives all the troops promised, will be strong enough for anything. . . . My return will probably take place soon after Christmas. I should come sooner were it not for the Jubilee of S. P. G., but that would, I am afraid, interfere with my plans. When I come, it will be to work as God shall give me strength. I am very sorry that the subdivision of the Diocese has been postponed. The cutting off the Eastern Province would relieve me of about twenty Clergy, with all the liabilities and responsibilities attendant upon them. I had hoped that Merriman would have been at his post as Bishop of Graham's Town soon after Christmas, and that I should have been relieved of a portion of my anxieties, and so have been able to turn to other things. It is impossible that one man should carry on efficiently the work of this whole unwieldy Diocese. It must break down, and he too. You speak, my sweet Annie, words of encouragement in your last letter in reply to some remarks of mine. Nobody but one placed in my situation can form a fair estimate of his fitness or unfitness for the office I hold. I can only say that I have a daily deepening conviction of my want of qualifications for it, and that if I saw my way clearly in the matter, I should propose to go to Natal, or perhaps even farther back. But I wait patiently for the leading of Providence in this matter. . . . I marvel at men going to Rome. It is very perplexing and incomprehensible to see such a man as M—— fall away. One thing it does not seem to do with Churchmen generally; that is, open their eyes to see that there is very much in the present condition of the Church, and especially in its relations towards the State, which requires searching reform. Surely, though our fetters be of gold, they must not be worn patiently. It rejoices me to see that several of the Colonial Churches are moving on towards Synodical action."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, June 30th, 1851.

. . . "Yesterday was the fourth anniversary of my consecration. I preached on the occasion at S. George's. . . . I took Sophy and Louisa with me. The latter is to be confirmed on September 23rd. Her birthday is S. Matthew's Day, when she will be fourteen. The same day has been appointed for our S. P. G. Jubilee throughout the Diocese, and I purpose having an early service for an Ordination, it being the Ember season. I hope you will remember my dearest child in your prayers on the day of her confirmation. . . . The Australian Synod has been to me almost the only cheering Church matter that has occurred for some time. These continual secessions are very distressing. They indicate a deep sore, which must be both probed and healed before we can be at rest. I thank God that everything indicates that men are turning their thoughts to what, under God, appears to me to be absolutely essential to the safety, if not the being, of the Church of England—Synodical action. The moderation and wisdom of the Australian Synod are very striking."

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Protea, September 25th, 1851.

. . . . "Our frontier news is far from good. There is a general want of confidence and co-operation amongst all parties, and we have lost a considerable number of men in two engagements. This cannot fail to raise the spirits and courage of the Kafirs. I am now engaged daily with confirmations. On Saturday I go to Stellenbosch, the following week to Paarl. Sophy accompanies me, and we travel on horseback. We shall be absent ten days."

The Bishop held a Synod early in November. He describes his two Archdeacons arriving;—"Merriman by far the freshest and most energetic among us, notwithstanding his walk of near 700 miles; the last three days he accomplished 100, coming in just in time for dinner." He writes an account of the Synod to Dr. Williamson:—

"November 25th, 1851.

"My dear Richard—You will be glad to hear the result of our Synod. We had a very satisfactory and interesting meeting. Seventeen Clergy present, and one Presbyter from Calcutta. The best spirit prevailed, and some important and satisfactory conclusions were arrived at . . . . Our most important topics were the admission of the Laity, Church Assemblies, and Church discipline. These occupied us for the first two days. All, with the exception of two who did not vote, were of opinion that it would be desirable for me to consult, when in England, with the Church, as to the best methods to be applied for inviting the co-operation of the Laity in the regulation of the affairs of our Church, on my return here. It was very curious and significant, that the only opponents of the measure were two extreme Low-Churchmen . . . . On Church discipline all were agreed except Camilleri, who retains a very great horror of Roman excommunications. I prefaced the discussion by reading to the Clergy some extracts serving to show the system of the Primitive Church, our own, the foreign reformed bodies, the Roman, Greek, etc.; the English Nonconformists, Owen, Baxter, etc.; Calvin, John Knox, and others. The subject had been discussed by the Clergy at the two last quarterly Rural Deanery meetings. We determined that all who were condemned for grievous sins, either in the Civil Courts of the Colony or in a Church Court, should be publicly suspended from communion with the Church, and not be restored until a public acknowledgment had been made, and a public profession of repentance. It remains to see how this will be taken. This has never yet been submitted to. I think, however, we all feel under a solemn obligation to enforce some degree of discipline, however slight at first. Hereafter we may hope, as people are able to bear it, to adopt a stricter course. Our discussions lasted for three days from ten to four. Not an unkind word was spoken: opinions differed on several points, but we were almost unanimous in our conclusions. At the close the Clergy presented me with an address, and we separated with some emotion. All felt we had had a very solemn meeting, and one fraught with important consequences to the infant Church in South Africa. The two Archdeacons shone most in our meeting, and discussed the several subjects with great ability, and in a beautiful spirit. White and Badnall also spoke very well. I was very glad that we had a leading Calcutta Clergyman of a gentle spirit, but of the Low school, as visitor. He was deeply interested in our proceedings, and much struck with the whole scene. He went away longing for Church Synods in India. We have, I believe, rather a bad name in India, as India has undoubtedly with us. It sends us either profligates or fanatics, seldom a sober Christian. Even lately, laymen have been administering the Holy Communion among themselves. The more I hear of the religious state of India, the more I am shocked at it."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Protea, November 26th, 1851.

. . . . "I have now decided to leave this for S. Helena by the first ship after Christmas. . . . I look forward with some anxiety to my visit to England, partly on account of the very unsettled state in which I must leave everything here, and partly dreading the wear and tear of a year's bustle and agitation, and feeling pretty sure that I shall never be able to accomplish one half that I have in view. The unsettled state of the Church at home, and the painful defections and distrust and jealousy make matters worse. However, we are all in God's Hands, and our desire is only (amidst many imperfections) to serve Him. Situated as we are here in the very midst of Satan's kingdom, surrounded by war, rebellion, discord, and confusion, I find exceeding comfort in the frequent use of the three first petitions in the Lord's Prayer. They come home to me more powerfully that ever they did at home. We had much comfort in our late Synod. All felt, I think, and spoke as brethren; I heartily wish the whole Diocese could have shared in our deliberations. The Laity, I am told, like the idea of being summoned to a convention. Before ours assembles, I trust we shall have the practice of other Dioceses to serve as precedents."

Thus the year 1851 drew to a close; the Bishop working hard up to the very last moment in order to leave everything in as good a condition as possible during his proposed absence, and preparing, as his leave-taking of this people, the following pastoral, which "will be read from the altar of every church on the first Sunday in the year," he says, when sending it to his friends in England. With that new year he was about to begin a fresh and important series of labours on behalf of his flock.

"To the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town.

"Brethren—The time having arrived when it becomes necessary that I should return to England, I am anxious, before leaving the Diocese for what may be a lengthened period, to address you on some subjects of deep interest to us as a Church.

"Many of you are aware that the sole object of my visit to the Mother-land is the more effectually to carry out to their completion the several important works in which we are engaged here. These works require the fostering aid and care of the Parent Church. It is not to be expected that a Church in so feeble a state as ours, so peculiarly circumstanced, and at so early a period of its history, should be able to grapple alone with the difficulties of its position, or discharge all the obligations which attach to the body of Christ, or extend its ministrations to every quarter where there may seem to be a call for them.

"Fully impressed with this—satisfied that our responsibilities are shared by the Church of which we are an offshoot, and which, in the fulfilment of her obligations, has sent forth so many of her ministers to labour in this land—I return home, in the hope of enlisting her sympathies more deeply in our work, and drawing forth an enlarged measure of support in behalf of the several objects which yet remain to be accomplished. It will be interesting to you to know what are the chief topics to which I purpose, God willing, to direct the attention of the Mother Church. They are—

I. The Division of the Diocese.
II. The future maintenance of the Clergy.
III. Missions to the Heathen.
IV. The foundation of a College.

"Upon each of these subjects I will offer a few observations:—

"I. The Division of the Diocese.

"It is, I believe, now obvious to all that this unwieldy Diocese, which comprises not less than five distinct Civil Governments, and which, in point of extent of territory, is one of the largest in the world, requires subdivision. It is impossible that any one Bishop can take the oversight of so vast a field of labour. On every side there are openings for extensive usefulness; but in order to avail ourselves of them much thought and attention must be given to them—plans must be conceived, matured, perfected, and, when entered upon, carefully watched over. The very number and variety of the subjects demanding close consideration prevent any one of them from being fully attended to. I have felt it impossible to give to many important points the time and attention which they required. Consequently much has been overlooked and neglected, and still more very imperfectly accomplished. Unless the Diocese be speedily subdivided, our whole work must languish. I am thankful to say that the subject has not escaped the attention of the Church at home. It has already been decided that the Diocese shall be divided so soon as the necessary funds can be obtained, and it is one chief object of my return to England, to see to the accomplishment of this important work.

"II. But another object which I have in view is to raise funds for aiding you in the future maintenance of the Clergy.

"There are already nearly thirty Ministers of the Church in this Diocese who draw upon me quarterly, in whole or in part, for their stipends; and the number yet needs to be increased before the spiritual wants of many of our brethren can be supplied. I have hitherto met these heavy demands, partly through your offerings and subscriptions, partly through a grant of £1,200 a year from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and partly by the offerings and annual contributions of friends at home, which were pledged for a period of five years. These latter have now ceased, the term for which they were promised having nearly expired. My best efforts will be directed on my return home to replenish the fund for this special object, which in my judgment is the most important of all.

"Let me take this opportunity of again pressing this subject upon your attention. It depends in no small degree upon yourselves whether you shall continue to enjoy the privilege of a settled ministry. I am prepared to labour to obtain from the brethren at home the funds required for this particular work, in our present feeble condition, and at this period of distress to so large a portion of the Diocese, but I must at the same time urge your co-operation to the extent of your ability. Much has indeed been done in several parishes; much more, I know, would have been done in others, had it not been for the war and rebellion which have ruined so many; but there are parishes that have fallen far short of the fulfilment of their obligations, and even of their engagements, in this respect. Suffer me, then, to remind you once more, that not only the extension, but the very continuance of the Church in this land in its present position depends, humanly speaking, upon the amount of your weekly offerings. We cannot look to Government for additional stipends. It is not in a position to grant them; and I am not sure that they are not dearly purchased at the price of the embitterment which they occasion to the minds of some. The more we learn to depend, under God, upon ourselves, our own exertions, and our own self-denial, the more I believe will our cause prosper. 'Let him that is taught in the word minister to him that teacheth in all good things.' 'Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things live of the sacrifice; and they who wait at the Altar are partakers with the Altar? Even so hath the Lord also ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.'

"III. A third object which I seek to accomplish by my return home is the raising funds and selecting men for the establishment of an extensive Mission to the Heathen of this land.

"This is a work which we may no longer, without sin, delay to enter upon. There are not less than 600,000 Heathen within this Diocese alone; and beyond its limits, though on the same continent, there are millions of immortal beings yet unconverted to God. My brethren, upon that branch of the Church of Christ with which we are in communion lies the heaviest responsibility towards these people; but our own duties towards them are immediate and urgent. God has commissioned us to go forth to them in His Name, and with His Blessing, and win them from Satan to Himself. Hitherto we can scarce be said to have entered upon the work. Our efforts have been so feeble that we are hardly entitled to allude to them, yet let us bless God that there are four labourers in this Diocese, in communion with ourselves, devoted to this sole work. May the number be increased an hundred-fold.

"I trust that none amongst ourselves will be found to join in the infidel's cry, 'that the conversion of the Heathen who are round about us is hopeless.' Sure I am that there is nothing in their condition which renders their acceptance of the yoke of Christ more improbable than that of our Pagan forefathers. It will be time enough for us to despair when we have been engaged in fruitless efforts for many years; when we have in vain exhibited before their eyes the blessed fruits of Christianity in our own lives and conduct; when we have long interceded earnestly with our Heavenly Father in their behalf, and taken a deep interest in their spiritual wellbeing, but have been compelled to own that all has been of no avail.

"I trust that one result of my visit to England will be the establishment, at no distant day, of a Mission to the Zulus of Natal and the Kafirs of British Kaffraria, to both of which works we are already pledged; and I shall rejoice if I am enabled to do anything for the religious instruction of the Fingoes, to whom the Cape Colony is so deeply indebted, and likewise to the Hottentots, which, however, with so many other important works in hand, I hardly dare venture to hope.

"IV. The other very important object which I hope to effect by my return to England is the complete establishment of a College.

"From the period of my arrival in the Diocese, I have felt the necessity of founding an Institution which should offer, so far as it could be furnished in a colony, an education similar to that afforded in our great public schools at home, and wherein also a supply of men might be trained duly qualified to serve God in the ministry of the Church. With a view to the carrying out of this plan, I opened a Collegiate School under a Principal, Vice-Principal, and Tutors, at first under my own roof, and afterwards transferred it to a property purchased by me for that purpose about two years ago. That the education therein afforded has been appreciated by you is evident from the fact that the candidates for admission have, almost from the first, far exceeded the accommodation at our disposal. I am therefore anxious to erect buildings on a larger scale for the reception of at least fifty pupils, and provide some endowment, though I fear it must at the first be very small, towards the support of at least two permanent masters. Until this be done, I cannot regard the Institution as established, nor can its expenses be reduced so as to meet the circumstances of many who desire to avail themselves of the education which it affords.

"It will be my earnest endeavour, then, during my visit to England, to raise funds for this special purpose. Whether I shall succeed to the extent of my wishes, with so many other pressing claims to urge, appears to me indeed to be doubtful. I must not conceal from you that I should have been more sanguine in my expectations of aid from England, if the Appeal which I made nearly two years since to the Diocese itself had been more readily responded to.

"It is chiefly with a view to attempt the carrying out of these four objects that I return for a season to my native land. How long I shall be absent it is impossible for me to say. My stay in England will depend upon various circumstances. I shall not be willing to leave it while I think my staying there is likely to lead to the success of any one of the objects I have in view. I should hesitate to remain a single day beyond what might appear to be absolutely necessary. I entreat the benefit of your prayers, that God may, through your intercession, vouchsafe His Blessing to the work in which I am about to engage.

"During my absence I have appointed a body of Special Commissaries for the general affairs of the Diocese. The Archdeacons of Graham's Town and George will act as Commissaries for their respective Archdeaconries; the Rural Deans of the Cape District, Natal, and S. Helena, for their respective districts.

"There is one other object to which I desire on this occasion to direct your attention,—I mean the more complete organisation of the outward framework of our Church.

"It was necessary at first, in an infant missionary Church like ours, that the whole burden and responsibility of what was done should rest upon the Bishop. It could scarcely be otherwise. But we have arrived at that period of our history when such a state of things ought not to continue. It is not in accordance with the principles of our branch of the Church or of the Primitive and Apostolic Church, that the Bishop should, by his sole authority, settle all questions which may arise, and conduct the affairs of the Church through all their details. The Presbyters, the Deacons, and the Laity of the Church have each their separate functions, responsibilities, privileges, which are at present in much danger of being overlooked. I have, indeed, from the first laid it down as a rule for myself to consult with such of the Clergy as I could gather together in one place, on all matters of great importance. But our meetings have hardly assumed the shape of formal Synods, and I did not feel at liberty to invite the attendance of the laity at them, not being certain whether in so doing I should be acting in strict accordance with the law. It does not seem right or expedient that this imperfect system should be perpetuated. I am anxious, therefore, that we should, so soon as it can conveniently be done, meet together in some more complete and constitutional manner, and take counsel respecting the affairs of the Church. There are many points which require careful consideration. Some of these indeed have exclusive reference to the Bishop's functions; others to those of the Bishop and Clergy; but the greater number are common to us all.

"I should probably have brought this subject under your notice before now, had it not been for the practical difficulties which surround it, especially in a Diocese of such vast extent as this, whose parishes are not even yet completely formed. The matter, however, is one of so much importance, and I anticipate so much advantage from our mutual consultations, that I shall hope, if God spare me to return to the Diocese, to take measures for the formation of a Synod or Convention, in whose deliberations both Clergy and Laity may take their respective parts. In the meantime I commend the subject to your consideration. It has already engaged the attention of several of our Sister Churches in the Colonies. The Australian, North American, and West Indian Dioceses have all of them adopted measures for the formation of Church Assemblies.

"It remains only that I entreat you to acknowledge God's Hand and fatherly correction in the chastisements with which this land has been visited during the last few years, and is now afflicted. Ever since I have known it, trouble has come upon trouble in rapid succession. War, rebellion, political commotion, anarchy, drought, locusts, scarceness, and consequent ruin to many, have been our sad lot. These are God's scourges. For our sins they have befallen us. Not, indeed, as some would represent, for our oppression and injustice towards our present enemies. There is, I rejoice to think, no sufficient ground for this wicked accusation. I firmly believe that both Kafirs and Hottentots have, as regards our political relations towards them, been justly and even mercifully dealt by, and that there has been a real desire and endeavour to do them good. Where we have failed in our duty to the Heathen has been in the little effort we have made, each in our separate spheres, and amidst our own dependants, for their instruction and conversion. For this it may be, as well as for our other manifold shortcomings and sins, our "bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and evil speaking," God suffers them to be "scourges in our sides, and thorns in our eyes." Let us confess our sins. Let us acknowledge that we have fallen short of our obligations as Christians in the sight of the Heathen. Let us strive to be, what we have never yet fully been, "living witnesses for Christ" in this land of darkness and of sin, and it may be that God will be gracious unto us, and withdraw His judgments, and visit us again with His Favour and His Love.

"I have now touched, my brethren, on all the points which I deem it important to notice on this occasion. Let me, in conclusion, hope that the same concord and harmony which have existed amongst ourselves in times of much trial, confusion, and discord, may, by God's great Mercy, be perpetuated amongst us. Nothing will rejoice me more, during my long separation from you, than to hear that, whatever befall you, you endeavour to 'keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Ephes. iv. 3). 'Only let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ; that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel' (Phil. i. 27).

"'Now that the God of Peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant, may make you perfect in every good work to do His Will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His Sight through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever' (Heb. xiii. 20), is the prayer, Brethren, of your faithful friend and Pastor, R. CAPETOWN.

"Protea, November 15, 1851."

CHAPTER VI.

JANURAY, 1852, TO AUGUST, 1857.

Second Visit to S. Helena—First Return to England—Work in London—S. P. G.—Bishop of Oxford—Dr. Pusey—Mr. Gladstone—Lord Grey—Sir J. Pakington—Duke of Wellington—Affection of the Bishop's Eyes—General Ill Health and Overwork— Colonial Church Bill—Consecration of the Bishop of Sierra Leone—Ember Week at Cuddesden—Illness—Goes to Belgium—Rejoined by Mrs. Gray—Mission Tours in England—Division of Diocese—Appointment of Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Colenso to Graham's Town and Natal—Consecration of the Bishops—Voyage back to Cape Town—Sends his Son to be educated in England—Letters to his Son—Frequent Communion—Value of Sound Grammatical Education—Diocesan Work—Arrival of Bishop Armstrong at the Cape—Sir George Grey—Death of the Rev. Charles Gray—Letters to Mrs. C. Gray—Visitation—Swellendam—Riversdale—The Knysna—Beaufort—Bishop of Natal—Great Fire—Visit to Tristan D'Acunha—Troubles at Graham's Town—Illness and Death of Bishop Armstrong—Bishop Gray goes to Graham's Town—Kaffraria—Visit to Umhalla—Sandilli—Bishop Cotteril—Pastoral Letter—Synod—Charge—Marriage of the Bishop's Eldest Daughter—English Politics—Letter concerning Religious Doubts—Visits to Saldanha Bay and Clanwilliam—Finance Matters—Third Visit to S. Helena—Second Visit to England—Work in London—Bishop of Oxford's Mission—Proposed See of S. Helena—Newbury—Wantage—S. P. G. Anniversary—Missionary Bishops—Bishop of Natal—Mission Rounds—S. Augustine's — Lichfield — Horbury—Stockton — Cornwall — Exeter—Cambridge—Central African Mission—Lord Carnarvon—Dorsetshire—Salisbury—Hursley—Bishopwearmouth—Durham—East Grinstead—Consecration of the Bishops of S. Helena and Brisbane—Visit to Germany on Union Affairs—Return to Cape Town.

THE Bishop had only two days of the new year to spend at Cape Town. On January 3rd he sailed for S. Helena, in H.M. ship "Vulcan," and reached the island on the 15th, where he was courteously and kindly received by the new Governor, Colonel Brown. The Bishop's former friend and host, Sir Patrick Ross, died in 1850, when he had written to his daughter as follows :—

"Graaf Reinet, October 31st, 1850.

My dear Miss Ross—I perceive by the public papers that it has pleased our Heavenly Father to call to his rest your dear and honoured parent. I had hoped that I should have been permitted once more to see him in the flesh, but it has been ordered otherwise. I shall never forget the great kindness I received from him during the few weeks which I spent under his roof, as a son with a father, nor the interest which he took in the first Visitation of a Christian Bishop in the island of which he was Governor, or the effectual aid which he rendered to the weakest of God's ministering servants. I trust and believe that your dear father is now with the Lord, and that he has entered upon that rest that remaineth for the people of God. May we be prepared to follow him. . . With my hearty prayers that you may be supported and comforted under your trial, believe me, my dear Miss Ross, very sincerely yours,

"R. CAPETOWN."

The Bishop found other changes in the Island since his last visit. A violent democratic spirit had grown up, and the general tone of things was not improved, although among those who were steady Church people better things prevailed, and the Bishop found large congregations, numerous communicants, and devout candidates for confirmation among these. He was not able to consecrate the new church, owing to disputes about the parties in whom it was to be legally vested, and altogether he left S. Helena with a less happy impression than before. The Bishop sailed thence on February 2nd, in the "Persia," the very same ship which had first taken him to his Diocese. The voyage was tedious, owing to contrary winds, and in a few lines written off the Scilly Isles, March 31st, 1852, the Bishop says: "We have been beating about for the last three weeks on this side of the Western Isles. Each morning that we rose we found strong east wind dead in our teeth. The passage usually does not occupy more than eight or ten days. We have shipped a great deal of water. Thank God I am quite well and ready for my campaign. I must work very hard and leave no stone unturned, though I can scarce venture to hope to carry out all my plans."

A pilot-boat fell in with the "Persia" that afternoon, about thirty miles from Falmouth, and the Bishop got into her, and landed at midnight in that place, where he could not get a bed, the hotel being full of emigrants about to sail for Port Philip, so he sat up reading till the mail started for Plymouth, learning various important public events—*i.e.* a change of ministry at home, and the Coup d'état in France. The drive to Plymouth, so unlike his African drives, was quite an enjoyment, and the first return to his own country full of quiet thankfulness and pleasure. The journey from Plymouth to London, by express train, too, the Bishop "greatly enjoyed. The primroses and violets were just out, the day was beautiful, and I was excited partly by the scenery, with much of which I had been long familiar, and partly with the prospect of seeing those who are very dear to me, and hearing from my dearest wife. God be praised!"

The Bishop took up his abode with his brother, Mr. Edward Gray, in Linden Grove, Bayswater, and plunged at once into the work which had brought him home.

An undated letter to his sister, written during this visit to England, is a good illustration of how entirely the Bishop's time was devoted to his work, as apart from family ties and interests.

"My dearest Annie—I had all but put a note into the post to-day, to say that I would come down to you (D.V.) on Monday. But the Bishop of Oxford pressed me to go to Cuddesden, promising to get over some Oxford men to promote my views in the University. Then Gladstone urged me to seek a meeting with or attend a Synod of Scotch Bishops next week about Church Assemblies, and expressed a desire for talk over Colonial Church and Cape questions, and Mowbray says I ought to go to the levée; and Lady Salisbury told me to-day the old Duke said he would see me the beginning of next week; and I have a table full of unanswered letters. I mention these things, dearest, just to show you how I am hampered. My hope is that I shall pop upon you for a couple of nights, but I dare not fix a day. I have engagements I cannot get rid of all this week. But my sweet tender sister will believe that she is the one of all others in England whom I have most desired to be with. If I had been separated from Sophy as from you, and were circumstanced as I am, I should remain, as I am remaining, in town. I have always made everything give way to what was, or seemed to be, duty.—Ever, dearest, your affectionate brother, R. CAPETOWN."

Some extracts from his Journal will best serve to show how energetically he strove to forward the good of his distant South African Diocese.

"*April 2nd,* 1852.—Breakfasted with the Mowbrays. All walked down to S. P. G. It was a Board day, and they made me stay to take the chair. I had a warm greeting from several who were there, Lord Lyttleton . . . Dickenson, Archdeacon Harrison, Dr. Spry, Jackson, Thomas, etc. etc. After the meeting went to call on the Archbishop, who received me very kindly. . . .

"*3rd,* S. P. G. Colonial Office. Lord J. Thynne, Wordsworth. . . .

"*5th,* Gleig at the War Office; hope to get a satisfactory arrangement about Military Chaplains at the Cape. Half-an-hour's conversation with Sir John Pakington . . . disappointed. . . . Called on Lord Morton and Sir G. Rose. Overwhelmed with letters and applications to preach and attend meetings for S. P. G. Several candidates offer themselves for the Diocese.

"*6th,* Had a satisfactory conversation with the Bishop of London. Miss Coutts, S. P. G., Lord Grey. . . .

"*8th,* Long talk with Archbishop about division of Diocese, and Synods. . . . His mind is, I think, undergoing some change on the subject of Church Assemblies. He said if it were not for our anomalous Convocations all would be right. I observed that no one wished Convocation to continue unreformed, only to reform itself. . . .

"*Good Friday, April 9th,* Preached at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, for S. P. G.; collection, £122. Went afterwards with

R. Liddell to his house. Very much pleased with conversation with Lady Williamson, who seemed deeply interested in the Diocese. In the evening to the Bishop of London's new church. Everything very complete; built, I believe, entirely at his expense. . . .

"*Easter Eve,* Throughout the week the daily prayers at the several churches, at which I have been present, have been well attended. . . .

"*Easter Day,* Chapel Royal; Bishop of Oxford preached a very eloquent sermon. S. James's; Mr. Jackson preached a plain and earnest sermon, his voice particularly impressive. . . .

"*Easter Monday,* Breakfasted with Bishop of Oxford at Mowbray's. Called on Gladstone; had a very pleasant conversation with him on Synods, his Bill, etc. Touched upon Colonial politics, which we are to discuss on another occasion. . . . S. P. G. to frame Resolutions. . . .

"*Easter Tuesday,* S. P. G. Meeting to dispose of Jubilee Fund—£5,000 granted for endowment of new See at the Cape, £1,000 for College, £5,000 for See at Borneo, £5,000 at Mauritius, and £1,000 at Sierra Leone. . . . Curzon Chapel.

"14*th,* S. P. C. K. to apply for grant towards endowment of new See. S. P. G.

"15*th,* Sat in all day writing letters; unable to clear them off. I am literally overwhelmed with work and conflicting claims upon my time. Walked down to Mr. Kemp at Kensington to dine, and afterwards an S. P. G. parochial meeting; had no time for thought, and spoke badly. It is very painful and humbling to hear so much said about myself; God knows I feel as if I were an impostor! My inflamed eye, which still continues, is perhaps sent as a thorn in the flesh and corrective.

"16*th,* Morning spent writing to Sir J. Pakington about my Zulu Mission scheme. This needed careful consideration. Sent copies of what had passed between myself and the Governor of Natal. This occupied me till S. P. G. Monthly Board Meeting. Very full. Spoke three times, and, I hope, effectively—once on division of the Diocese; next on grants by way of endowments to meet purchases of land in the Colonies for glebe; and, thirdly, on my various schemes for Missions. Was very well received; the recommendations of the Standing Committee of grants unanimously approved; expectations held out that I might get something by way of endowment; and my proposals about Missions warmly responded to. Mr. Burgess of Chelsea was very urgent about them. He pressed me to ask for £10,000 down. Sir H. Dukinfield also spoke very feelingly. . . . Interesting conversation with Lord J. Thynne about division of the Diocese; he offered £50 a year for ten years, with special reference to Archdeacon Merriman, and endowment of the See, whether in the Eastern Province or in Natal; and suggested the appointment of Welby for the E. P. Bishopric. . . . Dined with Mr. Mackenzie, S. Martin's-in-the-Fields; Gladstone and Sir Walter James there. S. P. G. Meeting; spoke with more comfort to myself. Gladstone spoke eloquently and touchingly. Again I was pained with eulogies. People little know how sick the Bishop of Cape Town is of hearing of the Bishop of Cape Town!

"17*th*, Theale. 18*th*, Preached twice. 19*th*, To Bradfield to see Mr. Stevens' beautiful new church, with which I was much pleased, also a College which he has founded for the education of gentlemen's sons. . . . Cuddesden. Provost of Oriel, Master of University, and several others to dinner. Much talk about the Cape.

"*Tuesday, April* 20*th.*—Holy Communion at eight A.M. Prayers at nine. The Bishop made some very touching remarks on the Second Lesson. Morning spent chiefly in conversation with Butler of Wantage. . . . Afternoon, walk and talk with the Bishop. He thinks we shall soon have Convocation. . . . He is a wonderful man; his mind seems alive to everything, and he touches all subjects with a master's hand. On our marriage question he said he would not marry a party divorced in the Supreme Court; that, if married by others, he would not refuse them Communion. He thought we were at liberty as a Diocese to frame liturgical services for the heathen; but should take no step without consulting the Archbishop, or at least keeping him informed. At six o'clock we had a parish meeting in the schoolroom, that I might give an account of the Diocese and its wants. . . . I spoke very badly. . . . Made arrangements for a tour of a fortnight or more in this Diocese, the Bishop helping it forward,—his Chaplain to settle the detail.

"21*st*, The Bishop of Oxford drove me into Oxford; much conversation with him about the Kafirs and our frontier policy, also about Synods. He agreed in the main in my view as to the position of the laity. He was of opinion that their *assent* should be requisite for any act of the Church; but we had not time to work this out quite. Very strong in his view that none but communicants should be delegates, and none but communicants electors. I told him of my views about declaration.[1] At first he objected to the declaration test as insufficient; but when I urged the impossibility of getting an adequate number of voters in many of our parishes, if the communicant test were strictly adhered to, he assented, providing it was stated that in our present imperfect state we had given up the point, which would not be yielded when the Church grew into greater maturity. He thought we might fairly have proxies, and instanced the practice of the English Convocation as sanctioning it. Called on the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Pusey; had a long conversation with the latter about Sisterhoods. . . . Talked also about Liturgies for the Heathen. He said he was not well versed in it, but offered to write to Keble about it—thought we were justified in framing services. Talked also about Synods; found him alarmed at the readiness with which the whole Church was disposed to give power on points of doctrine to laity. Found he did not agree with the view that their *assent* should be asked on points of doctrine; regarded ancient precedents as complimentary, more than as involving privileges. Has a manuscript work on the subject ready for the press, but has lost it, having lent it to some one who has never returned it. His language full of love and tenderness, and savouring more of Low Churchmanship than of High; spoke with sorrow about the state of Oxford—controversy has led to indifference; many, especially able minds, shrink from Orders. The Bishop of Oxford, Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Gresswell agree in this. Plumptre told me that now what he had most to fear was the rise of indifferentism. There is a school of somewhat rationalistic men, who do not, however, seem desirous to make proselytes; they all shrink from dogmatic teaching. Back to London.

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[1] *i.e.* The declaration Bishop Gray used in Africa, by which those electing Churchwardens, etc., affirmed themselves to be *bona fide* members of the Church of England.

"*April 22nd,* Breakfast with Gladstone; a very interesting morning. There was a very intelligent Neapolitan there. Conversation turned upon European politics, chiefly Papal and French. . . . . Gladstone spoke most strongly of the Papal power. . . . Called on Sir G. Grey, and had a long talk with him and R. Cavendish about Synods.

"*23rd,* At 11.30, by appointment, to Gladstone. Went thoroughly into South African affairs with him, constitution, frontier policy, and Natal. . . . On the first we disagreed. He strongly advocates self-government; would give Natal a Constitution, partly because Colonies cannot be well governed from England, partly because they best know how to manage their own affairs, and partly because if they have to pay for their own wars, they will take care not to get into them. I combated his positions, but I do not think I convinced him that we were not fit for self-government. He did not know that many of the English do not want the Constitution; nor the extent of alienation between Dutch and English, coloured and white. I pressed him upon the unfitness of our Colonies for self-government while our system for peopling them was conducted upon emigration and not colonisation principles. I do not know whether I made much impression on him; we had, however, a very friendly discussion, and I had an opportunity of speaking as I felt of Montagu and Shepstone. From there called on Dr. Stanger, and had a conversation with him about Natal. He gave me information of affairs there, showing into what state they were getting. At 1.30, by appointment, to Earl Grey—stayed till 3 P.M. discussing South

African affairs; he was very cordial; spoke my mind freely, especially about Natal. My views were quite new to him, and showed how very little he knew of what is going on there. He wished me to be equally explicit with Sir J. Pakington. . . Talked over the Kafirs, and what was to be done with them; threw out the idea of dividing the Gaikas and I'Slambies, sending the Galekas over the Kei, and colonising the Amatolas; told me there was a scheme of getting 1,000 Swiss mountaineers; brought forward his former notions of military villages.

"*April* 24*th,* S. P. G. . . . Long conversation with Dr. Binney concerning Bills respecting Colonial Church now before Parliament.

"*Sunday,* 25*th,* Went with Miss Coutts to the new church she has built in Westminster; sermon preached by Gleig; after service walked round the church—very beautiful. Afternoon to Quebec chapel; the two places are highly characteristic of the ages in which they were erected; the chapel had wine-vaults under it, the organ-loft hanging over the altar, galleries all round the church, etc.

"26*th,* To call on Mrs. Sargant, Sir Harry Smith's sister. . . . S. P. G. . . . To Sir J. Pakington—an hour's talk about Cape affairs, and Gladstone's bill. . . . Zulus, frontier policy, and constitution. . . . I hope he is prepared to help the Colonial Church to obtain freedom. He said he felt something must be done—I. To enable us to meet freely in Synod. II. To establish Courts for discipline. III. To adapt our Liturgy to the circumstances of a Missionary Diocese. I opposed strongly the Archbishop's notion that Parliament can legislate for us on all these matters. . . . Went to House of Lords with the Bishop of Oxford; called on Upton Richards. . . .

"27*th,* Dined with Dalton at Lambeth; meeting in evening. Very large one, and large number of Clergy. No one spoke but myself, and I felt very unwell.

"28*th,* Called on the Duke of Wellington at 11 A.M. Had an interesting conversation. He asked me about the prospect of the war being concluded. I told him it could not be safely finished just yet. . . He asked what was to be done when it was finished. I replied, Remove the Gaikas to the back country, or deprive them of their Chiefs, or perhaps both. He spoke about the Exeter Hall cry. I told him I thought we were justified in adopting any measures that were necessary for our own protection. He spoke of the necessity of roads, and asked what I thought. I inquired what sort of roads he meant. He replied, broad roads for the movement of troops; that the whole Bush must be penetrated by them; that the expense would be great. Explained to him the nature and extent of the Bush, and difficulty of work. He admitted this, but maintained it must be done. That always has been the system pursued from the time of the Romans. I told him that he was a greater authority to us in such a matter than all the Romans put together. . . . We then talked about the disturbed state of the Colony and the alienation of races. He spoke very briefly, clearly, and quite to the point; his mind apparently as fresh as ever. He said more in a few words than any one I have ever yet conversed with. I endeavoured to be as brief as possible, making my observations in a suggestive way, without attempting explanations. He was very courteous, and I conversed with him quite freely. Called afterwards on Lord Ellesmere, and went over the old ground with him . . . S. P. G. and House of Commons. Debate first on Scotch Union Bill. Walpole spoke in a pleasing, gentlemanly manner. . . . Lord J. Russell cleverly, and with considerable self-complacency. Gladstone had only an hour to bring in his Bill on the Colonial Church. He was hurried, but made a most effective, able, and eloquent speech, and was listened to with great attention by the House.

"30*th*, With the Bishop of Oxford about Gladstone's Bill. Agreed upon a course with reference to the Archbishop. He told me that the Duke was pleased with our interview, and said I was a sensible man. Saw in a moment that I knew all about it, only hoped the Government would listen to me! S. P. G. Board day. I am to spend my thousand pounds on College as I like. . . . Dined with Lord Ellesmere. Earl de Grey, Duchess of Argyle, Lord and Lady Clanwilliam, etc., there. . . . Letter from Pakington approving of my Natal Mission Scheme, and hoping Government can assist it without reference to the Colony. . . .

"*May* 1*st,* Christened Lizzy's little boy—Reginald Ambrose. Called at Colonial Office. An hour's conversation with Sir G. Barrow. Found almost all his views agreed with mine. Dined at Miss Coutts', Duchess of Cambridge, Princess Mary, Foreign Ambassadors, etc. . . . Had several Cape conversations, especially with Lord Lyndhurst, F. Peel, Duke of Newcastle; am to call upon him, and go thoroughly into Cape affairs. The Bishop of Oxford proposed this. Said he had not understood the questions till he had gone into them with the map before us. I think the Prelates and Statesmen are all too theoretic about Constitutions and self-government in the Colonies, and I find I differ more with them than others. I always press the same points doggedly upon all, and people are quite prepared to listen. G. Wellesley offered to promote my schemes.

"3*rd,* Visitors—Sir R. Inglis, Sir Walter James, etc. Leeches after dinner, and putting off engagements in consequence of the state of my eye. . . .

"4*th,* S. P. C. K. . . . Made a speech, thanking the Society for their liberal support during the last five years . . . explaining the reasons for which I had come home, inviting the Society to aid in erection of Mission Stations and premises, and in translation of various works both into Dutch and Kafir. . . . As I had spoken strongly about a third Bishopric at Natal, Hawkins suggested that I should go in at once for both, and the Society should give me another £2,000 for it. . . . This was received with acclamation. It was also intimated that the Society would help me in founding my Missions, and in translations. God be praised for this day's results, and may our anticipations be realised."

All this time Bishop Gray was suffering severely from inflammation of the eyes, and was under the treatment of Mr. Alexander, the eminent oculist, who tried all manner of remedies

—"repletion and depletion," the Bishop says, but without success, and he was feeling very unwell and fagged in the midst of all his constant and tiring activity, especially as he also suffered from an old trouble, the incapacity for sleep, which usually came upon him when overworked or overexcited. He mentions having scarcely had one good night since he landed in England, and he had often been seriously hindered in his work. At last he resolved on consulting Dr. Richardson, who, as might have been expected, told the Bishop that he had overworked himself, and needed rest; and after seeing him several times a little later, pressed this as absolutely necessary. "But how am I to get it?" the Bishop asked. On May 10th Dr. Richardson[1] and Mr. Alexander had a consultation, when they positively forbade the Bishop to preach on the ensuing Sunday, and insisted upon ten days at least of absolute rest. His Journal tells how he took this—attending S. P. G., the House of Lords, the Colonial Office; holding long consultations with the Bishops of Oxford, St. Asaph, Lichfield, Argyle, Chichester, the Chaplain-General of the Forces, Mr. Gleig, etc.; besides receiving and going to see many others, all more or less directly connected with the one perpetual subject of his thoughts, his Diocese and its work;—working at Cape letters, making arrangements for future sermons and meetings, attending the Drawing-room, etc. etc. The fact was, he was much too anxious in mind to rest. "These Colonial Reformers," he writes, after a long talk with Mr. C. Adderley, "ride their hobby of self-government to death. I told him that England had no right to intrust the 115,000 Zulus of Natal to the tender mercies of the 10,000 tinkers and tailors—the refuse of her own population—whom she had exported to that Colony because she could not feed them here."

The Colonial Church Bill, too, was a matter of deep interest to Bishop Gray. He writes: "*May* 18*th*, Sir J. Pakington called to inform me that Government meant to oppose Gladstone's Bill, as involving the separation of the Colonial from the Mother Church, and destructive of the Queen's supremacy. I had a little discussion with him without effect. Afterwards wrote to him, expressing a hope that at least Government would, if it threw out the present Bill, promise a better. . . . Worn out with talk, consequently a sleepless night.

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[1] Dr. Richardson wrote to Dr. Williamson: "The great difficulty felt in the Bishop's case is this, he cannot rest, his mind is ever at work. If he abstains from actual labour, the mind feeds upon itself. If he is permitted to return to his work, he does far too much. . . . I certainly am opposed to preaching;—the Bishop takes too much out of himself in the pulpit."

"19*th,* All day in the House of Commons to hear the debate on Gladstone's Colonial Church Bill, opposed at the last moment by Government. Sir J. Pakington promised to bring in a Bill within a year. After hearing all that was said, I am satisfied that this is the very Bill we want, as far as its principal features are concerned, and that Government itself must either bring in a similar one, or fail in its promise, and grievously disappoint the Colonial Church. Adderley told the House I had informed him that, whether the Bill passed or not, I must *act* on my return to the Diocese. Sir J. Pakington spoke in a manner complimentary to myself. . . . Dined with the Bishop of Chichester. He has a blind daughter who takes a great interest in my work; met several who were interested in it—Sir John Anson, Vernon Harcourt, etc.

"*Ascension Day, May* 20*th.*—Holy Communion at S. Paul's, Knightsbridge. . . . S. P. G. Dined with the Bishops at Lambeth. After dinner a discussion upon Church matters, chiefly what was to be done about Lord Blandford's Bill. Bishops of Salisbury, Oxford, London, and Archbishop, chief speakers. All agreed that Deans and Chapters are in imminent danger; we must make more use of them, or they would go. The Bishops are to meet in a few days to decide, if possible, upon some measure to be proposed to Government. Came home with the Bishops of Ripon and S. Asaph. Had some talk with the latter about Gladstone's Bill; he sided against it; argued the case with him; he gave up point after point, but said the Liturgy must not be adapted by the Church to Missions, but the Bishops must wink at its mutilation!!!

"*May* 21*st,* Went to Oxford for a meeting in Town Hall, fixed at a bad hour;—Dr. Vaughan lecturing at the very time on Modern History, and his lectures are very popular. Vice-Chancellor in the chair; Provost of Oriel, Jacobson, and Dr. Macbride spoke. Hussey, Ogilvie, Gresswell, Sewell, and several other leading men present. . . . Afterwards called on Dr. Routh, now ninety-seven years old. . . . Chapel; a large dinner in hall; evening in common room; harangued nearly all the evening on Cape affairs, social, political, ecclesiastical. Many distinguished men present. Both at meeting and in the evening, spoke of the points upon which I needed the counsel of learned men—Synods, Liturgies for the Heathen, intercommunion with foreign Protestants, especially Swedish churches.

"*May* 22*nd,* Chapel. Provost of Oriel, Hobhouse, and Mr. Hutchinson to breakfast; much talk about my work. . . . Some talk with Mariott about Synods and laity; and begged him and others to be prepared hereafter to give me their matured judgment on several points. . . . Left Oxford by the 4 P.M. train, a little knocked up with the incessant talk during these two days.

"23*rd* . . . Preached at Camberwell for S. P. G.

"24*th,* Breakfasted with Sir J. Pakington. Long and confidential conversation on all Cape affairs; very satisfactory. I shall not now trouble myself much more about these matters—*Liberavi animam meam.* . . . Worn out with incessant talking all day.

"25*th,* My eye being no better, went to consult Sir J. Clark. Like all the rest, he prescribed entire cessation from work. . . . Went down to the Worsleys. . . . Blister at night. . . .

"*Whit Sunday, May* 30*th,* Assisted at the Consecration of the Bishop of Sierra Leone. Bishop of London preached an admirable sermon. Service very bald, not a note of music. . . . Told Venn my mind about the Church Missionary Society declining to aid my Zulu scheme. He said the Society deeply sympathised in it—but give nothing! 'Be ye warmed and clothed, etc.' . . . Saw Cooper, the oculist, about my eye.

"31*st,* S. P. G. Colonial Office. Called on Merivale, on Emigration Commissioners, G. Wellesley, etc. Rather fagged. . .

"*June 2nd,* Left by express for Cuddesden. Duke of Newcastle in the train; had some talk with him about Cape. . . . Mr. Trench and Mr. Randall, the Bishop's Chaplains, with us. I hope to have a few quiet days at Cuddesden during the examination of Candidates. . . .

"*3rd,* Examination began this morning. Thirty-one Candidates. Was with S. Oxon while drawing up his papers, which are far more difficult than ours. He preaches extempore morning and evening, after the Second Lesson. In the morning he took the preparation for Ordination,—prayer,—from both Lessons for the day. In the evening the inward call to the Ministry from both Lessons, very impressive and earnest. I have seen nothing like this. After dinner a general conversation with Candidates about S. P. G. He lodges all either in his own house or in the village.

"*June 4th,* The address this morning was upon the courage and boldness (Joshua, both Lessons) required in the Ministry, and the trials and temptations and afflictions (S. Paul) which beset those engaged in it. In the evening it was on the Grace of God, the strength and support of the Ministry. Both very touching and heart-searching addresses. The Bishop of Glasgow came in the evening. Had a talk with him about Synods.

"*June 5th,* Holy Communion. The address was upon the reward of the faithful Minister. In the evening the Bishop delivered a written charge. . . . Mr. Trench went away; he is a man that I take to.

"*Trinity Sunday,* Not well enough to preach. We all walked in procession to church, having had short prayers in chapel before. Bishop of Glasgow preached. Service very impressive. . . . Service again at 4.30; Mr. Randall preached. After dinner we had a long discussion with Candidates on practical questions relating to the Ministry. Chapel again in the evening.

"*June 9th,* Went to see Bowman about my eye. He says much the same as the others have said. National Society Meeting, great and influential; Denison was the hero of the day.

All withdrew their resolutions; entire harmony prevailed; Government meets the Church's views. . . .

"12*th*, Sleepless night from overtalking myself yesterday. . . . Talked over S. Helena case with Sir G. Barrow and Merivale. Read Sir J. Pakington's despatch about my Zulu Mission;—as strong as it well can be, but not perhaps making Government grants so sure as to warrant my engaging men on the strength of it. . . .

"13*th*, Preached at S. John's, Notting Hill.

"15*th*, Unable to attend Jubilee services at Westminster Abbey—1,000 Communicants . . . went to see Bowman, who said I must be confined to the house, do nothing, sit in a dark room, blister and physic! . . . Put off engagements to Cirencester and in Buckinghamshire, etc. . . . Murray wrote me word of a grant of £2,000 to be proposed for See of Natal on July 6th."

Here the Bishop's Journal stops until July 13th, when he writes:—

"Between these dates I have scarce dared to use my eyes at all, and have been confined to my sick room,—a time for reflection, prayer, and humiliation before God. I trust it has not been altogether an unprofitable season, and that I have been able to say from the heart, 'Father, not my will, but Thine be done.' Nothing could exceed the kindness of friends and relatives in my affliction. I trust I shall never forget the exceeding tenderness of dear Edward and Essex; their thoughtfulness, self-denial, and watchfulness over me could not be surpassed. I have been able to dictate a good many letters during my illness, and correspond about Candidates. My greatest trial has been that of feeling that my work was being marred; but I have been content to leave this matter in God's Hands, and I am not sure that my sickness may not have tended to the furtherance of the Gospel in South Africa, for many have felt for me, and have been stirred up to help me; and the statement of every medical man that has attended me, that my health has been broken down by over-work and over-anxiety, has not been without its effect in showing how needful it is that the Diocese should be divided."

As soon as he was able to move the Bishop left town, staying first at Theale with Mr. and Mrs. Worsley, and then at Almondsbury with his brother Henry, where he managed, by the help of Dr. Williamson and others, to transact a good deal of Cape business; and such entries as, "Kept awake two whole nights by an anxious Cape mail," occur in his Journal, showing how entirely his heart was in his work, whether well or ill. For one such restful entry as, "Made hay!" there are a dozen about reports, revised translations, and letters about Candidates. On July 17th the Bishop "drove into Bristol, went over the Cathedral, visited my father's grave, and looked over the ruined palace." He then went to Pershore (Dr. Williamson), where he did take some rest, visiting Mr. C. Kennaway at Campden, and Archdeacon Thorpe at Kemerton; but nevertheless there were again sleepless nights, and a return of suffering in the eye, his whole nervous system seeming unstrung; and when a little later he went from Godmanchester to see his doctors, they were strenuous in insisting on more rest—in obedience to which he forthwith had an exciting interview with Sir John Pakington, who told him the Government plans as to Cape affairs;—"the surrender of the Sovereignty, the extension of the Colonial frontier to the Kei, involving the ejection of the Gaikas from the Amatolas, and the occupation of the country by settlers or troops;—the recall of the Constitution;—the subdivision of South Africa into three distinct Governments, with a Local Governor for each district, and Houses of Assembly. A Governor-General to preside over the whole."

The Bishop went on to Grinkle (where his mother-in-law, Mrs. Myddleton, was residing), and from there he writes mournfully: "*August* 1*st*, While visiting nearest relations, and wandering over places which visibly recall past scenes, my thoughts are perpetually with my dearest wife and children. What would I give to have her with me! Had she been my companion, I feel that I should have more rapidly recovered my health. Lowness of spirits creeps over me while moving thus about from friend to friend, in feeble health and separated from those dearest to me; and a sense of banishment from my native land does not tend to lift me up again. There is comfort, however, in the thought that it is but for a little while, and it is in God's service.

"*August 8th,* On Friday my eye grew worse, and I felt it a duty to abandon my whole Durham work, God knows with what reluctance!" A continuance of sleeplessness and nervous distress led the Bishop to go up to London to see his doctors, and there he was strongly urged by Dr. Richardson and Mr. Bowman[1] to travel, and seek restored strength of nerves by a walking tour. Accordingly, he went to Belgium, but wrote from Brussels to say that he had hardly had any sleep since leaving England, and felt it wiser to return, which he accordingly did. Much as the Bishop longed at this comfortless period for his wife, he would not summon her; and in reply to some such suggestion from his sister, he wrote (August 5th)—

"I have no intention of sending for dearest Sophy, however much I should have rejoiced to have had her with me during the last few months. Her duties at the Cape, the trials of the voyage, the season at which she would arrive here, alike forbid it. I should not, however, be very much surprised if the reports which have been spread of my health drove her home. Do not trouble your mind any more about this matter. I think I am somewhat better. . . . Probably a little work may do me good. Idleness is not good for me, and my spirits suffer from it."

Meanwhile the tidings of her husband's suffering state reached Mrs. Gray through Mr. Montagu. This was on August 1st, and with her customary vigour and energy she made all needful arrangements, and sailed on the 3rd in the "Hellespont" for England, landing at Plymouth, September 8th, and going up immediately to London, where she found the Bishop at his brother's, Linden Grove, better than he had been, but by no means well. From that time, until he left England again in December 1853, he led a life of great mental and physical exertion, in spite of frequent attacks of illness. It was one ceaseless series of sermons and meetings all over England, as well as a visit to Scotland and Jersey. In December 1852 he preached the Ordination Sermon at Oxford, and some of his brightest and most restful days were spent with Bishop Wilberforce. The wear and tear of those endless journeys in every direction, increased by the continually recurring need of going to London to S. P. G., together with the constant talking and preaching, and the strain of anxiety about the various arrangements for his Diocese then pending,—all this together was enough to try even the strongest, and one cannot wonder that the Bishop sometimes broke down through utter weariness, or that, from time to time, after preaching three times in one day, he was too ill to do anything the next. There scarcely seems an important place in England which he did not visit, and amid the toil there were many bright spots of sympathising and congenial intercourse with such friends as Mr. E. Coleridge at Eton, Mr. Liddell of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, Mr. Grey of Morpeth; the Bishops of Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln; Mr. Courtenay of Bovey Tracey, Mr. Butler of Wantage, Mr. Keble, Mr. Anson of Birch, Mr. Boyd of Arncliffe, and many more.

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[1] Mr. Bowman wrote at this time—"I am decidedly of opinion that the *prudent* course for the Bishop to pursue would be to abstain altogether from the work on which he is engaged during two months. I believe that he has not yet had nearly rest enough to restore his nervous power, and enable him to work with *safety* to his own health. I must add that I think preaching and attending meetings, urging the wants and claims of his Diocese, are a kind of work particularly likely to be prejudicial to his health at the present time."

The division of his large Diocese, on which his heart had been so greatly set, was at last effected, and it was on September 7th, 1853, that Bishop Gray wrote to ask Mr. Armstrong of Tidenham (the chief promoter among us of Penitentiary work, and the founder of the Church Penitentiary Association) to become the first Bishop of Graham's Town. Mr. Armstrong was, like Bishop Gray, born at Bishopwearmouth, where his father was a physician of some note, and it is remarkable that the two first English Bishops in Africa should have both come from thence. Mr. Armstrong accepted the Bishopric in much the same spirit as that in which Bishop Gray had gone to the Cape.

"It came," he said in a letter to a friend, speaking of the office, "in so Church-like a way, was so utterly unsought for, and, instead of being riches, will be so decidedly poverty, that I felt it as a direct call." During the short period of his Episcopate (he died at Graham's Town on May 16th, 1856), Bishop Armstrong was one of the Bishop of Cape Town's most valued fellow-labourers. It was about the same time that he offered the See of Natal to Mr. Colenso, whose name was suggested by Dr. Hills, the Vicar of Great Yarmouth, whom the Bishop would fain have induced to undertake the post himself. Mr. Colenso was living in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth, and was very zealous in the Missionary cause, and when his name was submitted to the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Hinds) he joined warmly in the recommendation. On S. Andrew's Day, 1853, both Bishops were consecrated at Lambeth by the Bishops of Oxford and Cape Town, etc.—the Bishop of Oxford preaching a touching sermon on the burden of a Bishop's heart and the power which sustains him. Shortly before this, Bishop Gray had been hastily summoned in the middle of the night to his dear friend Mr. Montagu's deathbed, having ministered daily to him through his illness.

In a note to Miss Cole, informing her of the birth of a little daughter (October 27th, 1853), he alludes to both these interests, and on December 1st writes to the same lady of the consecration:—"The day was indeed to me full of comfort; it seemed a fresh pledge that God is and will be with us. We go forth to contend against many difficulties, with opposition, and probably persecution, but we go forth in His strength, in faith, and with a good courage. They are both[1] noble-hearted men, and God will, I doubt not, make them the instruments of great good to our dark, desolate, wayward land. I need not say that I value your continued prayers above your offerings of gold and silver: *they* are our strength. Do not cease to intercede for us. I always feel confident when I know that the faithful at home are pleading for us that we may be true and earnest in our work."

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[1] *i.e.* The two new Bishops, Armstrong and Colenso.

"The great object of my mission to England has been accomplished," the Bishop wrote, "and the Diocese is subdivided, able and devoted men appointed to the new Sees, sufficient funds raised to maintain our existing work for another five years, and to enlarge our operations among the heathen. More, far more, than I had dared to hope has been accomplished. The Church will now, I think, fix her roots deep in South Africa. Had the Diocese remained undivided, our work must have languished and at length died out. Now there are three centres of unity; three central springs and sources of vigorous action; three Bishops to bring before the Church the claims and necessities of the perishing heathen of these vast and interesting countries. The framework of our Church is now complete, and we shall soon, I trust, be permitted, without let or hindrance, without the fear that we may be infringing the law, to meet together—Bishops, and Clergy, and Laity—to take counsel for the welfare and extension of the Church, and to make such regulations as are needful in the peculiar circumstances in which we find ourselves in this land. I desire to express my gratitude to Almighty God for these blessings, and for His goodness in restoring me to health, and enabling me during the last year, for the most part in great weakness of body, to preach or speak at meetings almost daily—300 times in all."

The Bishop was then about to return to these his many difficulties: On December 14th, 1853, he and Mrs. Gray, accompanied by the new Bishop of Natal, and some other clergy, went on board the "Calcutta" at Southampton; Mrs. Gray in a very suffering and weakly state. The Bishop writes from St. Vincent, December 26th, "We had very nice Christmas services, twenty-five communicants: the Captain expresses himself thankful for the daily prayers, which the passengers attend very well. He says that it helps him greatly in preserving order and discipline."

On January 20th, 1854, they landed with some difficulty, for it blew a fierce north-easter; and "found all the children well, baby welcomed heartily by them. I find some troubles, not, I trust, very heavy ones, awaiting me here."[1] Meanwhile he plunged at once into all the usual work, confirmations, etc., among other things consecrating Claremont Church (the first stone of which had been laid, September 17th, 1850) on April 18th, 1854—Easter Tuesday—the church beside which both his and his wife's earthly remains await the resurrection.

The absence too of several of his most trusted clergy threw increased toil and anxiety upon the Bishop.

March 11th, 1854, he writes to his brother Edward: "We sometimes think it very hard that we cannot be for one day alone . . . . I wish you could see our beautiful scenery, it would charm you, but it is sad to think how few there are around us who have much sympathy with us or our work. One misses the Church atmosphere in which one has lived of late so much . . . . I am more than ever oppressed with work; some of my correspondence would amuse you; more would set your back up. I write all day, and yet cannot get through letters and sermons."

Among other points on which he consulted his advisers in England was the following: "What would you do if you were in my place, and parties who had married deceased wife's sisters presented themselves as communicants? I have two aggravated cases, and have refused communion in both. One, not being able to get Sir H. Smith to give him a license, went to England, failed there, then went to Denmark and was married. The other took counsel's opinion in England as to being married in India, was told it was illegal, but probably no one would interfere; got married and came here. . . . I shall be glad to have a Synod to discuss such points. Are these people to be kept for ever from communion, unless they separate? Our Canon declares such marriages to be incestuous, the whole Church, in every country and in every age, up to the Council of Trent, believed them to be so, and forbidden by God's word. How can we admit them to communion while living in this state?"

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[1] The Dean (Newman) sailed for England in February, leaving the Cathedral on the Bishop's hands, and several others among the Clergy also went away.

On this subject Bishop Gray wrote both to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of Oxford. His delicacy of feeling and consideration are strongly set forth in what he says: "August 28th, 1854. . . . I wrote to the Archbishop, asking him how he would have me act in the case of persons who have married deceased wife's sisters, as to their admission to communion. The canons say they have committed incest—the early Church excommunicated them, and made them separate. I have two bad cases (rich people), and have refused them communion. One has behaved very well, and I wish I could, with a safe conscience, restore him. What do you think? I begged the Archbishop to let me know what the Fathers of the Church at home generally would advise in such a case. *I* believe God has forbidden these marriages. The Church of England has always believed the same. And yet great allowance is to be made for persons who enter into them."

"I have been overwhelmed," the Bishop writes, "with applications for increasing pecuniary assistance from all parts of the country. Were I to listen to them all, my funds, raised with so much difficulty, would soon be all exhausted. There is a tendency to lean too much upon the Bishop—to consider him as the great purse of the Diocese, and to think that it is his business to furnish the funds for such works as require to be carried out. I have steadily set my face against this; were I not to do so, my funds would prove a curse, and not a blessing, to the Diocese. I am ready to bear the chief portion of the expenditure required for the carrying out of any plans for the conversion of the heathen, and to help the Christian population in any real efforts which they are disposed to make for themselves, but not to relieve them of any portion of their responsibilities. It is necessary that it should be distinctly understood that the office and duty of the Mother Church is only that of assisting her poor and scattered members in building their churches and schools, and in maintaining their Clergy, just to that extent which is needful in order to secure these blessings to them. It is not to supersede, but to stimulate local exertions that her help is given. With the heathen it is different."

On the 21st of April 1854 the Bishop carried into effect a plan which was a great sacrifice to himself, but which he felt right for his child's sake—that of sending his only son to England to be educated at Bradfield. Mrs. Gray mentions seeing her boy on board the "Indiana," with the Bishop of Natal, who, after a six weeks' visit to his Diocese, returned to Bishop's Court for a short time before sailing for England, "whither he has gone for the usual work—that of selecting men and raising means. He has been most warmly received in his Diocese, and has made, as might have been expected, a great impression upon all who have been brought into contact with him." The Bishop's heart followed his son, and however busy he never failed to find time to send him a few lines mail by mail—lines such as only such a father could write. His first letter was written May 13th, 1854:

"My dearest boy . . . As I write, you are, I trust, drawing nearer to England. You will find there, I doubt not, an affectionate welcome from your uncles and aunts, and a new world will open out to you. Do not forget that it is full of temptations. You will, I trust, give me fully and freely your impressions about all you see, and tell me how you get on with your relations, young and old. All here is much the same as when you left. Your sisters' thoughts are still about you, and your father's prayers offered for you. . . . We always remember now in chapel 'the far distant son.' May God be ever with you, dearest boy, and may you never forsake Him. . . . Perhaps before this reaches you, you will have gone to Bradfield. It will be well if you have, for if you remain long with your tender-hearted aunt Essex, she is sure to spoil you, as she did me. . . . The snakes still defy us; they lie sleeping in the sun upon the vines every day. . . . Ever, my dear boy, your affectionate father, R. CAPETOWN."

"Bishop's Court, June 24th, 1854.

"My dearest boy . . . We began our night school for the blacks again this week. Johnny,[1] Harry,[2] Louisa, Aggy, Mama, myself—all help in the teaching. I hope they will continue to come, and that we shall be able to make them learn something. The new building will, I hope, be ready by the end of the holidays. I dare say you will often think in your new school of happy days spent there. By the time this reaches you, you will be domiciled, I trust, at Bradfield. May our prayers be answered for you, and may you grow in grace and wisdom daily. . . . Tell me who your chief friends are; how you are getting on; what you are doing; whether you are happy. Continue to be confidential with me. God bless you, my dearest boy."

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[1] Johnny Merriman.

[2] Harry Welby.

"July 21st, 1854.

"My dearest boy—I do not like to let our last steamer sail without a line to you, though I have but little time for letters. So far away you will, I doubt not, be glad to have as much news as possible. . . . There are so many Clergy absent now, that I do not know whether I shall be able to make a Visitation in September, as I hoped to do. If I go, Mama will probably go with me. We are both getting very fat, and so is poor Baby at last. You will, I trust, give me your impressions about England. Tell me what strikes you, and how you get on with your work. . . . I make all the children teach in our night school, and if you were here, you should be indulged with a class. We generally have from thirty to forty present. I am looking out anxiously for letters announcing your safe arrival in England, and for news of the Bishop of Graham's Town. You are, my dearest boy, I trust, giving heed to yourself, and praying earnestly. You know how glad I shall always be for you to write freely and confidentially to me about yourself."

"August 26th, 1854.

"My dearest boy—You will, I trust, before this reaches you, have settled well into your new school, and got over the disagreeables of a first introduction to a new life. You will, I fear, find yourself behind other boys of your age, but I have no fear but what you will in time take your proper place, if you will steadily apply yourself to your work and not fuss. Be conscientious about the employment of your time;—give up to lessons what you know you ought to give to them, and make the best use of your time, and you will do well enough. Above all, my dearest boy, pray heartily and frequently, and be careful in avoiding the society of bad and unprincipled boys. Never be ashamed to do what is right, or to avow that you do it because it is right. You know how anxious I shall be to hear that you are doing well. Do not disappoint me." . . .

"October 19th, 1854.

"My dearest boy . . . Now work diligently and conscientiously for my sake, and because you know I shall be much distressed if you do not go on well. . . . Benjamin asked very feelingly after you, and spoke very kindly of you, but he said that you were easily put off your studies by other boys;—that you did not want brains if you would use them, and that you would not do what you knew to be wrong. I believe he spoke very truly —what you want is application. . . . You must give me a full account of yourself, your school, and your friends. What I want to hear about is what you are doing. Tell me about yourself, and turn yourself inside out upon paper for my inspection, and let me see the worst of you. Remember that the Henrys are sons of a very dear friend of mine:—Suckling is the son of a very saintly Clergyman. If the Bishop of Oxford ever takes notice of you, remember that he is one of the most eminent men of the day, and a very dear and kind friend to me. Strive, my dearest boy, day by day to fear God. Do not be content with *saying* prayers, but PRAY.—Ever your affectionate father, R. CAPETOWN."

"Bishop's Court, January 5th, 1855.

"My dearest boy—I was very glad to hear from yourself, as well as others, that you are going on satisfactorily, and that you are happy in your new school. I am glad that you are worked harder than at Woodlands, and that you are fined if you do not engage in vigorous exercise. Play is necessary to a boy's health, both of mind and body. I like therefore to hear of your throwing yourself into the games of the school;—they will all help forward the work of education, if too much time be not given up to them. It is a comfort to me, dear, to be consulted by you on religious points. I can hardly at this distance, and without knowing more of your state of mind, and daily life and conduct, say whether I think you do well or not to communicate weekly. My impression is that there will be some danger of your viewing too familiarly, if not irreverently, the most solemn act, the greatest mystery, of religion. A weekly communicant should be living up to a very high standard of Christian life. If you are doing this, and preparing yourself previously, by much thought and self-inquiry, and wish to communicate weekly, I think you may safely do so, and that you will draw down many blessings upon your soul. But if you are doing it because you think the masters expect it, and will think the worse of you if you do not, or because it is the custom of others to do so, or because you think it will please me, I advise you not to do so. Of course I should be very glad if you had a real desire for it, and found the fulness of the blessing of so doing; but to do it from any other consideration than a real belief that it was good for you, and a longing for it, would not be right or profitable. You see, therefore, that I wish to throw you upon yourself, with only a few hints to guide your judgment. I can't help thinking that you may be doing it, more from an idea that it is expected of you, than on any other ground. Write and tell me whether this is so, and give me your own views on the matter. What I want you to learn to do is;—to do what *you* think right, not what you think others think right for you to do. Ask yourself, when others—especially other boys—ask you to do things, whether God would have you do them. Be guided by what you think would be His Will, and you will not go far wrong. . . . You say that you have given up singing as hopeless. I trust not. If ever you are ordained, you will find the importance of it. So try again and persevere, and see whether it is not possible to make a silk purse out of your sow's ear! I advise you also not to think it necessary to write to us all at one time. It will make your correspondence with your family, which should be a pleasure, a burden to you. Write a note to some one of us every week, and send them when you write to your uncle, to go by every ship which may be sailing. We shall then have a sort of journal of your life. . . . I am writing to you on mama's birthday. She has not said anything about it, and the children have not found it out, so there are no little birthday presents for her who never forgets to remember others.". . .

"Bishop's Court, March 23rd, 1855.

"My dearest boy—It was a great comfort to me to receive a good account of you, both from Mr. Stevens and Mr. Sanderson. They tell me that by determined industry you have risen from the bottom to the top of your class; that you have displayed points of character which promise well for future success; that if you go on as you have begun, you will rejoice both their hearts and mine; and that your influence in the school for good, and for resisting evil, will be strongly felt. At the same time they say that you are still very backward for your age, and that at the beginning of the half there was a little waywardness, which has given way to orderly and regular acquiescence in the rules and discipline of the College. Knowing how I love you, and how anxious I am about you, you will easily understand what joy it has given me to hear that you are really endeavouring to do what will please God. For this I think, my dear boy, must be the case, and it is, I trust, the answer to our many prayers for you. . . . Go on, dearest boy, as you have begun. Remember that you are but just beginning; that you will have your trials and temptations—nay, that you are surrounded by them. Look up to God continually for help and direction; and bear in mind that, if man sees no fault, He does—a thousand. I tell you what is said in your praise, because I think you should know it, and I have always told you freely of your faults. You will not, I hope, be 'set up' by it. If so, you will have a fall. I read to your sisters last night what your masters say of you, and you may judge of their delight. At first I read a sham letter all full of faults, and

Aggy's mouth gaped wide with amazement, till she detected my fraud! . . . It is nearly three months since we had any letter from you. I suppose your letters have miscarried, or that your intense studies have absorbed your leisure, or that your Colonial relatives (as I tell the children) cannot expect that a gentleman living in the world's great capital should deign to notice them very often, living as they do, in a remote and contemptible province of the Empire! However, you see we are very humble, for we continue writing to you, and I presume that Cape news will not be unwelcome. I shall therefore give you some scraps. . . . The Archdeacon is, after all, going as Missionary to Umhalla. Sandilli, too, the Chief of all the British Kafirs, has expressed a desire for a Church Mission, and the Bishop of Graham's Town is now in Kaffraria on a visit to Kreli, who will, I daresay, be equally willing. He is the Chief of all the Kafirs, and has from 40,000 to 60,000 souls under him. Other Missions to the Fingoes are also in contemplation so soon as men and means are forthcoming. When will you be ready for such a work? When willing to go forth as a good soldier of Jesus Christ to win the heathen to Him? This country is now suffering from a very extraordinary disease among horses and oxen. They die by thousands. In some parts of the country it is said there are hardly any left. . . . I hope you will continue to write freely to me about yourself, and hide nothing from me. It would be a comfort to me if you could tell your great faults to any one of your masters; but I do not charge you to do so, knowing that it may be difficult." . . .

"July 20th, 1855.

"My dearest boy . . . I do not want you to think it necessary to write to me directly about your spiritual state. Nothing would shock or pain me more than an unreal religious letter. You know it would be pure hypocrisy, and as injurious to you as hateful to me. But I should like, my dearest child, that you should still, though far away from me, tell me of your failings, and of your aspirations after good. I do not want that we should become strangers to each other; and nothing will more tend to check that than the endeavour to keep up a perfectly free and confidential intercourse. Do not scruple, therefore, to tell me freely of faults and shortcomings, or to ask for counsel. I should like you from time to time to tell me whether you keep up *earnest* private prayer; whether you read Holy Scripture by yourself, and other good books, and what books, with a view to your own personal improvement; whether you communicate weekly or monthly, and whether you reap the blessing of Communion, or whether, through lack of earnestness, it is withheld. I desire, my dearest boy, to see you advancing in your studies, but I look with infinitely deeper interest and anxiety to your growth in faith and godliness. Make these your chief aim. Other things are desirable. These are essential. If spared to meet again, let me find you a really Christian lad. It is this that I long and pray for more than any other thing for you. . . . I hope you were presented to the Bishop of Oxford when he came to confirm. To me he has been more kind than a brother, and that with such brothers is saying a great deal. I bear his love and many kindnesses in grateful remembrance. . . . Baby is as fat as an ortolan, and would be spoilt if the children did not constrain her to play in their way, not in hers, which is a wholesome discipline for her. Louisa has developed into a young lady, and come out." . . .

"September 21st, 1855.

. . . "About Latin and Greek Grammar I am anxious, knowing how much real scholarship and rapid progress hereafter depend upon a good and accurate grammatical foundation. You must therefore work at this *now*. You will feel the comfort of it hereafter. I speak feelingly, because by illness I was obliged to leave Eton before I was your age, and never studied again till I went to College. The knowledge of grammar is the foundation of all good scholarship; and the discipline which your mind must go through in order to attain it, will be of great use to you in strengthening your faculties. So now, my dear boy, do not let difficulties deter you from becoming a grammarian." . . .

To return from the Bishop's fatherly interests to those of his Diocese, nothing seemed too small for his personal and individual care. The night school (to which he refers in one of the above letters to his boy), in which there were about forty "grown-up black babies," as he calls them, interested him greatly, though he used to lament being unable to communicate more freely with them in their wonderful *patois*—neither Dutch nor English. He also had a regular service for the heathen in the Cathedral, and coloured people were flocking in to be taught and baptized. He had many difficulties and trials among his people, and some very uncalled-for and unjustifiable party attacks, which, however, he always cast aside lightly.

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, July 24th, 1854.

. . . "I am getting offensively fat! and no wonder, for I sit many hours daily in one chair, and do nothing but write—chiefly sermons for S. George's, which, in the absence of the Dean, is chiefly upon my hands. It is a very large and important congregation, and I wish to feed them, which requires much labour. . . . You will be glad to hear that I laid the foundation-stone of our first Missionary buildings in this corner of the Diocese last week at Wynberg.

"August 25th, 1854.

. . . "I do not expect to be able to make a Visitation this spring; the delay in the Bishop of Graham's Town's arrival, and the absence of so many Clergy, will together prevent me. I am very sorry for this, as I am much wanted in the country. I am much pleased at the prospect of our new Governor, Sir George Grey. . . . Good-bye. I have some disagreeable public letters to write, and a table full of Diocesan letters unanswered."

October 2nd, 1854, the Bishop wrote to his brother Edward, announcing Bishop Armstrong's arrival:—"To-morrow is my forty-fifth birthday. I wish I could spend it with you. May the future be better than the past! The Bishop and his party arrived on Friday, 29th. They had a long passage, a rough landing, and the omnibus which brought them out stuck fast, the inhospitable pair of jaded horses refusing to bring them. I walked down in the rain to greet them, and we soon housed them. . . . They are sixteen in number, and Lady Ross came the same day, so that we are full. Our Cape Parliament is just over. . . . People are not in heart. There is an evident intention to put down the English and the English Church, which does not mean to be put down. Our people—at least the more respectable of them—feel this, and I hope it will do them good. I have missed the Dean and Badnall and Douglas much during all this. While the Dean is absent I am greatly overwhelmed, for I must write weekly for S. George's. I have written this year seventeen sermons on the Creed, which I was asked to publish, and am just now finishing a course upon the Liturgy. All this takes up a great deal of time. . . . I have bad threatenings of fresh attacks in my eyes, which I dare not use at night. Dear Sophy generally reads every evening to me. . . . The English Ministry seems shaky. I shall not now be sorry if they go. The Oxford Bill has turned the point with me, but I do not wish to see Dizzy at the helm!"

The Bishop of Graham's Town remained a week at Bishop's Court, talking over plans and prospects, and, on October 7th he and his party sailed for Algoa Bay.

Among all his work and correspondence, none was more lovingly kept up than that with Bishop Wilberforce. Unlike as the two men were in many ways, there was *one* strong bond in their love and devotion to the Church; and their personal affection seemed to wax deeper and deeper through all the troubles of the years that flowed on, to the very end. The following letter, written when the great loss of Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce was coming, shows the affectionate tone of their intercourse:—

To the Bishop of Oxford.

"Cape Town, November 25th, 1854.

"My dear Bishop—I was thankful to receive another kind and affectionate letter from you containing copies of the most important reports laid before Convocation. I need not say that

I discovered how large a share you had in the framing of them, nor how I bless God for them, and shall rejoice to see them in all their main features, after full and mature discussion, carried out in practice. We in the Colonies want, in addition, several services for Missionary Stations, where we have a population almost without education, and where catechumens and hearers only attend our worship, and largely preponderate over the baptized. As to sponsors, I am compelled to sanction accepting parents. Were it not so, children must often remain unbaptized. Who can fail to see that God is gradually and providentially preparing the Church of England to withstand the evils that are rapidly coming upon her from an unbelieving world? I feel deeply grieved about the Oxford Bill, and cannot but think that Gladstone has mismanaged it. Had he been determined, I think it would have passed in its original shape.

"There is no need to tell you with what feelings I saw in the paper the other day that your dear brother had resigned his Archdeaconry and his parish. Knowing what the state of his mind has been since the Gorham Judgment, remembering what you told me about his intention to write a treatise on Church authority, and that it was your belief that his inquiries on that subject would fix him one way or the other, it was with dismay that I saw his resignation in connection with the publication of the treatise. I cannot but fear that this is a prelude to a farther step. May God avert it for his sake, for yours, and for the Church. Though believing, as I do, that to forsake our Communion for any other is a sin and a falling away from the true faith, and in England from the true Church, I ought to grieve most on his account; yet my love for you, my living sense of all your more than brotherly kindness to me, brings you, and the pain it will cause you, far more acutely to my mind. It will indeed, if true, prove a heavy blow. The Church will, I think, suffer quite as much from the weakening of your influence for good, as from the loss of his piety and great learning. I have often felt deeply for you amid your desolation in the loss of some very dear to you. That each loss may be blessed to you, that you may be strengthened more and more, day by day, by His Spirit in the inner man, that you may be enabled to accomplish the great work He has given you to do in the restoration of His Church in England, is the frequent prayer of one who can never forget your kindness, and what you have done for him."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, January 5th, 1855.

. . . "I am still single-handed, struggling with more work than I can do, and White leaves me in April. If the Dean does not return by that time I shall be in a deplorable condition. . . . We really are no better than a hotel, with the important difference that, instead of being paid, we pay the bill. I would that dear Sophy and I could spend a quiet week with you. I want rest, rest for my mind, but cannot get it here. Were my posts satisfactorily filled up, I should be a man again. The Bishop of Graham's Town is improving greatly in health. I do not know how I could have gone on if either of the new Dioceses had still been on my hands."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, January 5th, 1855.

. . . "The state of S. Helena absolutely demands my presence, and I am much needed all over the Diocese, but I am obliged to remain here to serve the Cathedral. My losses of Clergy this year are eleven—as yet the supply is but two. I shall really break down if I am left with Cape Town on my hands another year. . . . Sir George and Lady Grey are really all that I could wish. . . . He is a very good Churchman, a religious man, and very pleasing. It seems so odd to see the Guardian in Government House, and to hear a really calm-minded and good man pointing out to the Commodore (also a good man) the evils of the Church Missionary Society system, of whose Committee he is a member. . . . I think the practical evils of all other systems, and admiration of Selwyn, have done more to make Sir G. Grey a good Churchman than any love for Church principles. Be this, however, as it may, he has realised principles, and he is the man for me. . . . I am writing to you on dearest Sophy's birthday. I cannot be too thankful for her, and really do not know how the business of the Diocese would get on without her. . . . Baby is thriving, and always glad to come to me during the few moments that I can spare to be with her."

To John Mowbray, Esq.

"January 9th, 1855.

"I agree with . . . in thinking it impossible to adhere cordially to any existing party or combination. Were I, however, to choose a leader, it should still be Gladstone, in spite of some disagreements. I am very glad that Walpole is exercising greater influence over the Conservative party. He has just got that which gives Gladstone more weight than all his great abilities — real honesty of purpose, and real religion. . . . I am delighted with Sir G. Grey. I have seldom been more taken with a man, he seems so thoroughly good, and quiet, and thoughtful. Parliament will, I suppose, abuse him, but you may depend upon it he is adopting the wisest course for England. We were a fortnight ago expecting war to break out daily; the rumours just now are not so rife as they were, but I fear it must come. I have great faith, however, in Sir G. Grey. He will not put his foot upon the chiefs' necks and make them kiss his toe. If he can win their confidence (and no man is, I think, more calculated to do so), and let them see that he really desires to do them good, we shall have the best security we can have against future wars. He says that if Government does not confirm his proceedings he will retire. Believe me, it is a matter of no light importance for the Church at this time to co-operate with him."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, January 27th, 1855.

"My dearest Annie . . . I need not tell you that dear Charles' state of health, and the critical condition of our army in the East, make me anxious to hear from England. . . . When are you and Richard going to pay us your promised visit? I am afraid you will wait till we all get too old to move. . . . We are already beginning to think of enlarging Sophy's little Church (Claremont), which is quite full, but I fear some time must elapse before we can begin with brick and mortar. . . . I will not allow the Secretary of State, or any one else, to send out who they like to this Diocese."

Early in the year 1855, Mr. Charles Gray, of Godmanchester, the Bishop's brother (to whose failing health he alluded in the last letter), died. The Bishop's tender love for all belonging to him was strongly called out by this event, and he wrote as follows:—

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, March 16th, 1855.

"My dear Edward . . . Your note announcing our dear brother's death reached me yesterday at Government House. I can hardly yet realise the fact that I shall see his face in the flesh no more. Your and Richard's accounts of him in his last moments are very comforting and edifying. His meekness, and patience, and gentleness, and love, were always bright points in his character. We might all have learned a great deal more from him, dear fellow, than we did. May his example still be blessed to us. How full of love he was towards us all, and how meekly he bore with all we said and did! That brotherly love which has burned very brightly in all our hearts has been one of our chiefest blessings in life. It is a great comfort to think that you and dear kind Essie, and Richard and poor little gentle Annie, were with him at the last, to smooth his dying pillow, and comfort poor dear Agnes when all was over, and she awoke to a sense of the full weight of her sorrow. Poor little dear, we must love her and her children all the more for their desolation. I have written to her to-day. You will tell me what becomes of her, and how she bears the burden laid upon her. The accounts of my own dear Charlie are very comforting to me."

To Mrs. Charles Gray.

"Bishop's Court, March 16th, 1855.

"My dearest Agnes—Yesterday I received Edward's short note announcing your great bereavement. I lose not, my dearest sister, a day in telling you how deeply I feel for you, and how I mourn that our dear brother is taken from us in the midst of his days. My prayers shall be continually offered up for you and your fatherless children, that the God of all consolation may comfort, support, strengthen you, and sanctify this your affliction to your everlasting good. I feel comfort myself, dearest, in the thought that He *is* with you, a very present Help in time of need, and that He will not suffer you to sink under the weight of the burden He has Himself laid upon you. When I read of all your tender care and love, your night watches, and your nursing of him who has been taken from us, I can hardly resist thanking you for what you have done for our much-loved brother; but you have felt it to be your privilege, and have done all that wife could do to soothe his dying moments. I would that I had been with you to share your cares, and learn the lesson which that deathbed would have taught me. All speak of his unvarying patience and meekness, and gentle resignation, and firm grasp of the truth. He was your 'meek man' to the end. Well, dearest, he is with his God; we cannot doubt it, happier than with you in his happy earthly home; and you will one day join him, and again praise God together in your Heavenly as you did in your earthly home.

"Looking back upon the past, I do not remember one really wrong thing said or done by him (though, doubtless, in his own and in God's sight there was much); and I can call to mind a long succession of truly Christian acts. I shall not ever forget his great brotherly love and kindness, and his deep interest in my poor flock. I loved him, as we all did, with a very tender love, and it is not without a pang that I think I shall see his face no more in the flesh. . . . I shall be anxious, dearest Agnes, to know how you bear up, and what becomes of you. . .

You will be dearer to us all in your widowhood and distress, than when you needed no other earthly stay than him of whom you are now bereaved. In your children, too, we shall take a more tender interest. Give my best love to them all, and tell them that I feel deeply for them, and pray that they may be good and obedient children to you. They must make a conscience of adding as little as possible to your cares and anxieties. . . . I have written to you at once, because I would not miss an opportunity. If I have written unconnectedly, it is because I am somewhat upset. I could not sleep after receiving this sad news. Of dear Carry[1] I have heard nothing since her fresh losses. I would, my dearest Agnes, that I knew how to help you, but that is not possible. Be assured, however, that my heart bleeds for you. . . . My best love to the sisterhood.[2] I have little time now for writing to any. That our Gracious Father may bless, support, and comfort you, that you may be enabled to cast all your care upon Him, assured that He careth for you, and that you may at length enter into that rest, of which your dear husband is now a partaker, and be with Christ really, as now in faith and hope, is, dearest Agnes, the prayer of your very affectionate and loving brother, R. CAPETOWN."

A little later he wrote again to his sister-in-law (without date) :—

"My dearest Agnes—I received your touching and most welcome letter of February 5th, giving an account of our dear Charles's last days, and of the state of your own feelings. You have, dear, as much comfort as one bereft can have,—the comfort of knowing that he is with his Lord, and that that Lord is and will be with you. It is my daily prayer that He will comfort and support you.

"This world can never be the same to you as it was a few months ago; your thoughts will be more undividedly fixed on

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[1] Lady Young, one of Mrs. Charles Gray's sisters, whose sons, Sir Charles and Sir William Young, were both dead, the former being killed in the battle of Alma, and the latter died of cholera also in the Crimea.

[2] The Bishop's pet name for Lady Young and Mrs. Charles Gray's other sisters.

Heaven, your aim and desire will be to be where he is with your and his Lord. Sometimes I tremble when I look around upon my own temporal blessings. God has hitherto spared all He has given me, and all my children promise well. Were it not for them and dearest Sophy, I should be content to go. I sometimes think the time is not far distant. May He give me grace to live more and more as I shall wish I had done when my hour shall come. The great amount of secular work that presses upon me, the unceasing anxieties of my office, absorb more of my time and thoughts than I could wish. I did hope that when the Diocese should be divided, I should have had some time for quiet reading and thoughts, but I have never had such a year of anxieties and distractions as the last. Pray for me, my dearest sister, that amidst my difficulties I may be guided, directed, strengthened, enabled to say and do what is for God's Honour and Glory. But enough of myself. . . . Ever your affectionate brother, R. CAPETOWN."

To Mrs. WILLIAMSON.

"Bishop's Court, June 25th, 1855.

"My dearest Annie . . . You judge rightly; writing, even to those best loved, is a task or effort: for there is always work undone claiming attention, and Sophy will hardly let me write after dinner. I have had two most touching and beautiful letters from our poor little widowed sister. . . The depth of her character is now being seen. . . . Depending upon the Dean's return by the beginning of September, I have fixed to start on Visitation by the 22nd August. I cannot delay longer; it is four and a half years since my last Visitation, and in George they say they are beginning to forget that they have a Bishop. . . . At present all my cares are *pro Ecclesia Dei.* Next week we are going to have our first Church Mission meeting—the first, I think, the Church has ever held in South Africa. The object is partly to form an Association, not to raise money, but to excite an interest in Missions, by lectures, information, etc., and partly to send letters from the Church here to the Churches in Graham's Town and Natal, to express our deep interest in the work to which they are called, our sympathy with our brethren engaged in it, our desire to help it forward with our prayers, and in any other way that can be pointed out to us. I trust that it will succeed and do good, but I sadly feel in this, as in other things, the need of my old supporters. . . . I wish you could be with us: you would enjoy this beautiful place, and add to the happiness of a very happy home, for the dear children are all loving and obedient. If I could see my old Clergy at their old posts, I feel that the Church would daily grow in spite of all the opposition of the world, and the enmity of false brethren. I never cease praying that He Who Alone can do it, will raise up true and faithful men to carry out His work in this land of darkness."

The trials which beset the Bishop in losing old friends and fellow-workers pressed heavily. Dean Newman resigned after a year and a half absence. "I grieve deeply over his loss," the Bishop wrote;—and finance also once more became a trouble, S. P. G. interfering unduly, as he thought, with his special funds. However, on August 25th, 1855, the Bishop started, as he proposed, for a Visitation, intending to go to some parts of the Diocese where he had never been, and full of energy and hope as to carrying on and enlarging his various schemes for education and Mission work. To this end one great object he had in view was to teach people to exert themselves more in aid of their own needs. He used to say that Englishmen are so accustomed to an Establishment, considering that to mean that the State pays for their religion, which is to cost them nothing; that it was difficult to make them understand how greatly the South African is a voluntary Church, and that those who seek the blessing of spiritual ministrations must pay for them. One of his constant efforts was to teach people that God claims a tenth of their substance for His worship and service, and until this was learnt he felt little could be looked for.

Mrs. Gray accompanied her husband in a light wagon drawn by six horses. The details of one Visitation tour are inevitably much like another, and as these Visitation Journals have been published, there is less need to make lengthened extracts from them. Generally, wherever the Bishop went, besides services and preaching, he confirmed and baptized many persons; consecrations of churches or burial-grounds occurring at rarer intervals, and in every place meetings with the inhabitants, either to see how debts could be paid, or funds raised for further wants, school affairs arranged, differences and quarrels accommodated, and in some cases grievances redressed and offenders rebuked. The Bishop's route lay through Somerset, Caledon, where a church had been built, and near which he proposed to plant schools and school-chapels at four stations; then by the Strand-veldt to the Moravian Mission at Elim to Breda'sdorp, etc.; to Swellendam, Port Beaufort, and Riversdale. Crossing the Gouritz River to Mossel Bay, the Bishop nearly lost his wagon and horses, but he reached George on September 11th much satisfied, as his letters show, at the work some of his Clergy were doing, especially Mr. Sheard at Mossel Bay, and Mr. Belson at Riversdale. When at George (where the Bishop and Mrs. Gray were Archdeacon Welby's guests), he administered Holy Communion in Dutch. "I feel ashamed of myself," he says, that after some years' residence I should not be able to preach in Dutch, but at home I never hear the language, and not very often in the country. I can read it tolerably, but I have never had time to study it thoroughly. It is one of the greatest trials of my life that I am obliged to cast aside books altogether. My life is spent in business, and in unceasing action, and there is always work left undone, and pressing upon me."

The way in which the Church had grown under his fostering hand may be judged of by George as a specimen. When the Bishop last was there he found but a handful of listless, feeble, divided people, no church, school, or mission. Now there was a church already too small for its congregation, a mission-chapel, and school-house, 125 communicants, two Clergymen already, and on September 23rd, the Bishop ordained a third, Mr. Niepoth, formerly a Dutch missionary. From here the Bishop and Mrs. Gray proceeded to the Knysna on horseback, going on to Plettenburg and Newhaven, where there was a church waiting for consecration, as also at Belvidere;—returning to George on October 8th, and going on to Schoonberg, and thence through the Lange Kloof into the Karroo, visiting the famous Cango caves, up to Meiring's pass, whence Mrs. Gray returned to George in the charge of a "most captivating Dutch farmer." Meanwhile the Bishop and the Archdeacon continued their route through the mountains, where the rocks were 3,000 feet high, and baboons swarmed, over the Zwartberg to Beaufort, a village lying in the midst of the Karroo—200 miles from any other. He remained there ten days, consecrating the church and carrying on his usual work. The parishioners, who had sent a wagon to meet the Bishop, again sent him on his way departing—in all some 500 miles—one man providing the wagon, six others the horses, others the drivers, forage, and provisions. The Bishop said he specially valued this kindness, because of its primitive and Scriptural character, the people offering in kind to their pastor. Prince Albert was his destination, at the foot of the Zwartberg mountain, one of the choicest parts of South Africa, where its fruits are most varied and abundant and its best wines grown. Thence a drive of fifty miles to a farm, where horses met him to take him back to the Moravian station, where Mrs. Gray awaited him. From Beaufort the Bishop wrote to Mr. E. Gray, saying: "I am endeavouring now to see as many of the new villages as possible, that I may get an idea of the whole work before me. New villages, however, spring up like mushrooms." This journey was a severe one, and the Bishop rejoiced that he had not allowed his wife to accompany him. "None but a person who could endure some degree of hardship could go through it. The heat of this day has been intense; the ground burnt my feet through strong shoes as I walked."

By October 9th the Bishop had returned to Riversdale, and through Swellendam, Montagu, Worcester, the Paarl, Malmesbury, and so back to Cape Town by November 24th. "This whole Visitation," the Bishop wrote, "has been to me one of deep interest and encouragement. Amid very great difficulties, a considerable work has been accomplished. In many districts the Church is, I trust, firmly rooted and established. There is no place (save Worcester) where the English are congregated together in any numbers, where there is not already a Clergyman, a church, and in many instances a school. And in those places where their numbers are too few to justify the erection of a church and the appointment of a Clergyman, there is a fair prospect of our being able to plant school-chapels, and deacon schoolmasters, for a combined work among the English and the heathen, if only we can raise the funds necessary for such a purpose. In other districts, where there are no English, the coloured people are very anxious that a purely Missionary work should be undertaken for their good. There is, I believe, a growing desire in many quarters for the ministrations of the English Church. When I remember what the condition of the Church over the whole country was on my first Visitation, and look at it now, I cannot but feel very thankful to God who has done so much for us. It is a great comfort, too, to think that throughout that large portion of the Diocese over which I have travelled, a good hearty religious spirit and a growing religious feeling prevail. The aims of those who have unceasingly exerted themselves by anonymous writing to injure the Church are seen through. Their assaults have, in many cases, led to a more diligent study of the principles and doctrines of the Church of England, through her own recognised formularies, and thereby to increased knowledge and faith, and a firmer attachment to the Church. The seven years we have passed through have been anxious, and to me exhausting years; but if it please God to bless the work of His servants in future times as largely as in the past, there need be no fear but that the true faith of Christ will have a firm hold upon the mind and conscience of this land, and that multitudes who, alas! have still but a faint knowledge of the One True God, will rejoice in the full light of the Gospel."

On his return to Cape Town, the Bishop was immediately occupied in a series of confirmations, his rule being to confirm annually in each parish church. Just before his Ordination, the new Dean of Cape Town, the Rev. H. A. Douglas (now

Bishop of Bombay) arrived. The following letters fill up the history of this season:—

To Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, January 1st, 1856.

"My dear Richard—I begin my first letter of the New Year to you; may it be a happy one to us all; and if spared to see its close, may it have been to us both a year of faithfulness and devotedness to our Master and His Service, and of preparation for rest with Him and in Him through eternity. I enter upon it with many blessings. . . . But I have not time to dwell upon anything but business matters, for I have much to do, and have scarce had one day since my return free from some service or other,—confirmations, Ordination, school feasts, and examinations, and lately long correspondence with the Bishop of Natal, who has got into great trouble—I. By bringing out too many not over-well chosen labourers all at once to a work scarce begun. II. By mistaking the extent of a Bishop's power, altering services, omitting portions of the Liturgy—*e.g.* Psalms, Lessons, Litany, and introducing others—*e.g.* a *new* offertory and prayer for Church Militant, a prayer for Heathen, etc.;—in fact, acting as the sole legislator of the Church. III. By giving way as soon as opposition met him. Matters are in a great mess just now, and it is difficult to advise usefully at this distance with our imperfect communication. But I have done the best I could. My cry always has been the '*lex scripta*' of the Church;—no deviation from this in founding new parishes, or in any cases but those of absolute necessity. It is the only standing-ground for a Bishop in a land where there is no civil law to back him up, and where there is no Synod to fall back upon. If he takes up any other standing-ground, he will sooner or later fall. The Bishop of Natal has done so against my warning, and has cut away the ground from beneath his feet. People will not submit even to a Bishop's *ipse dixit.* He has startled people by the rapidity of his conclusions (polygamy amongst the number, with reference to the baptism of heathen with more wives than one, upon which he has written a pamphlet), and shaken confidence. They ask, What next? If he will only learn caution and deliberation, this row will do no harm. His fine, generous, bold, and noble character will triumph over all difficulties. I ought to have said that they all arise in unfaithful ———'s parish. If I have learnt one lesson in this land, it is the judgment which toleration of an unfaithful minister brings upon the Church. . . . Douglas has arrived. . . . If I am not much mistaken in him, he will be a blessing to Cape Town." . . .

To Miss Cole.

"Bishop's Court, January 14th, 1856.

"My dear Miss Cole—Though wearied with letter-writing, which is the plague of my life, I must address a few hasty lines to you before I start on another voyage to Tristan d'Acunha, to bring off Priest and people, who are outgrowing their little isle, and perhaps also to S. Helena. This latter, however, I have declined to visit in one of H.M. ships, inasmuch as I can only do so by paying Admiralty prices, which, on the last occasion, were £83. I accomplished my land Visitation successfully about two months ago. The state of the Church in the country was on the whole very satisfactory. The Bishop of Graham's Town's Kafir Missions are flourishing, and gradually extending themselves, and so are the Bishop of Natal's. . . . Douglas, our new Dean, promises very well. He appears good, able, and judicious; a striking preacher and active parish Priest, and a true Churchman. The people have taken to him vastly. Newman may still return. I have asked him to come out as Archdeacon of the Cape. Sir G. and Lady Grey continue to be all we could wish. They are now our near neighbours at Sans Souci—the corner house by the lane.

"I must not omit to tell you that we have had a dreadful fire, arising from the carelessness of a neighbour. It has burnt all round the house, and everything to the left of the road from where the property begins, till you reach the mountain—I think 200 acres of our land. Our loss is about £800. It is a mercy that our house and lives were spared. We all worked very hard, meeting fire with fire. I was quite knocked up, and do not think I shall ever again contend with a raging fire on a windy day. . . . Pray, tell R. Liddell that I deeply sympathise with him in his troubles. He once used to talk of founding a Bishopric. Sir George Grey wishes to found one in the Orange River Free State, formerly part of my Diocese (the Sovereignty), now under nobody's charge. There are 100,000 natives and many English." . . .

To his Son.

"Bishop's Court, January 8th, 1856.

"My dearest boy . . . It was a great comfort to hear a good report of you from Mr. Stevens. I hope that you will not be foolish enough to let the praise which you sometimes get make you well satisfied with yourself, or think that there is not a great deal of evil in you, which needs to be watched and wrestled with and prayed against. Self-complacency is a very deadly sin; for it is just that sin which blinds us to our real state, and prevents us from seeing ourselves as we really are. If others are satisfied with you, then take care that you be not satisfied with yourself. Think over your faults, not your good points, and pray and try to get the mastery over them. . . . You will have heard of our great fire. . . . I worked like a Trojan (you see I am getting classical again in my old age), and so did your sisters. The house and stables were in great danger. . . . I am thinking of putting down your name at University College, Oxford, for October 1859. The Master, you know, is my old tutor. You will then be nineteen, and I think, at that age, will be better able to resist the temptations of College life than if I sent you a year sooner. What do you think yourself? Will you have reached the top of your school in another year? and do you think you could go on working in the school with real improvement up to the time of going to College? . . . And now tell me, my dear boy, when you next write, whether your thoughts are still turned towards the ministry of Christ. If so, you must look with double vigilance to your inner life. You know I never will ordain you unless I think you will prove faithful; and your future faithfulness will depend almost entirely upon what you are becoming *now.* I wish, my dearest boy, I were nearer to talk with you on these subjects, instead of making my letters sermons; but I am not, so you must be content with sermons instead of letters. . . . I am not very strong, and feel symptoms of age or overwork creeping upon me. Still I daresay I shall be able to stand up for myself when we meet!—Ever, my dearest boy, your affectionate Father, R. CAPETOWN."

To Mr. CHARLES GRAY.

"At Sea, March 29th, 1856.

"My dearest boy . . . I am on my way back from Tristan d'Acunha, the position of which such a geographer as you are, is of course acquainted with. I have been there in the 'Frolic' brig-of-war, with a view to minister to the people, and help to bring them off, and at the same time comfort their Clergyman, who is a very devoted man. Perhaps you will remember that there are a few people who settled there about five years ago, and have gradually increased to about a hundred. They have scarcely any communication with the rest of the world except through American whalers, and live in a very primitive way. They have oxen and sheep and potatoes, which they exchange with the whalers for flour and clothes. The island has been thrown up in the middle of the ocean by volcanic agency—there are several extinct craters in different parts of it. It is about 9,000 feet high. We attempted to reach the top of it one day, but it was enveloped in clouds and rain. The ascent was very difficult, and in some places dangerous. Half the island lads went up with us, and skipped about like young antelopes, while we were moving with due consideration for our bones. More than once they warned us that if we slipped we should strike the bottom, about 4,000 feet below us. We climbed up on all fours, grasping at rocks, bushes, grass, etc. I was very much pleased with the people, for whom, I think, a ship will be sent to bring them and their stock to the Cape. Mr. Taylor has worked hard and faithfully amongst them: very many attend daily prayer. All kneel, and sing and respond aloud, and keep their eyes fixed on their open Bibles and Prayer Books—this manner greatly impressed our sailors. There are two other little rocky islands about twenty miles off. On these ships have been occasionally wrecked, and the crews and passengers lived for many months on penguins' eggs. The poor people would send me some bags of potatoes as a thank-offering.

"You may be sure that I shall be glad enough to put my foot again on shore, for I do not love the sea, and am very dull without mama and the children. . . . I hope, my dear boy, you will write fully to me. . . . We must not become strangers to each other, which is the great danger of long separation between parents and children. The more you can tell me about yourself at all times, your studies, life, friends, conduct, faults, the better pleased I shall be. You should, in addition to your school work, always have some private studies on hand—say some portion of modern or ancient history, or some one of our great English classics. . . . What a joy it will be to me, my dearest boy, if the day should ever come when I can ordain you with perfect confidence and comfort. Live with an eye to that day. That God Almighty may abundantly bless you, and keep you from all evil, is the unceasing prayer of your affectionate Father, R. CAPETOWN."

Some fuller accounts of the Bishop's visit to this interesting island are given in a letter written to Mr. Hawkins after his return to the Cape.

The Bishop had intended to visit Tristan d'Acunha on his first voyage out, and had failed to do so; but the urgent entreaties of the Priest stationed there, Mr. Taylor, and reports that the islanders were outgrowing their wild home, and beginning to suffer from lack of food, led him to interest Sir George Grey on their behalf, and it was arranged that the Cape Government should undertake the charge of bringing them to that Colony. Accordingly the "Frolic," Captain Nolloth, was sent to ascertain their wishes and needs, and the Bishop accompanied him on the voyage, which was accomplished in twenty days—the island lying 1,500 miles to the west of the Cape, and South of S. Helena. The Bishop found Mr. Taylor living in a most primitive fashion—for a long time having had but one small building, which served as his living room, school, and church. Latterly he had had another room containing a bed and one chair, which he insisted on giving up to the Bishop, he and Captain Nolloth sleeping on the benches in the school-chapel, where the Bishop confirmed thirty-two persons, and held services, and preached each day with a full congregation. After making arrangements for removing the people (two old sailors, one of whom had served under Nelson, excepted, who wished to remain), and undertaking to find employment for their devoted Priest, the Bishop visited each separate family, and went on board the "Frolic" again on Easter Eve, so as to provide the ship's company with their Paschal services, and returned home on April 4th to his usual incessant work.

Of this date is a touching letter to the Bishop of Oxford:—

"May 22nd, 1856.

"My dear Bishop—I have just seen that it has pleased God to take from you your dear boy, in whom you felt so much pride. I need not tell you that I feel with you and for you in all your sorrows and anxieties, and lift up many a prayer for you under the pressure of them. God's dealings with you are very marked. You have had, and, I have no doubt, have needed, many a heavy blow to wrench you from that world in which you are qualified to play so great a part, and of which you might have been the idol. God is drawing you by His own marvellous methods more and more from it, closer to Himself. As He takes from you your earthly stays, may He vouchsafe more and more of His own Blessed Presence. I know very few who have had more domestic trials. The loss of such men as your two brothers and Manning, more lost to you than if called away by death—added to these still closer natural losses, has been, I am sure, a very bitter cup to you. I would that I could comfort you and alleviate your sorrow, but I can only feel with you and for you, as you have sympathised with me in hours of sickness and depression."

Another letter, written somewhat later in the same year, is very characteristic of both Bishops.

"My dear Bishop—Your last letter was written in low spirits, and you were evidently poorly, and suffering from overwork. Long ere this you have, I trust, recovered your wonted elasticity and vigour. I wish, however, that you could be persuaded that no frame however strong, no constitution however good, can stand the unceasing strain which you allow your mental and physical powers to be submitted to. From pretty close observation, I am sure that your whole being is overtasked, and that more quiet and repose are necessary, if that, which I stand not alone in thinking the most valuable life to the Church, is to be preserved for any length of time, or if you are not to break down long before you need and ought. But you have heard all this from a thousand others (though from none who love and appreciate you more than I do), therefore I will not weary you. I am sorry to find you cast down under the abuse and misrepresentation of the world. You will never be free from it, and you must make up your mind to it. We all know the more powerful an instrument any one is for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, the more certain it is that the devil will raise up adversaries against him. It has pleased God to endow you with good gifts and graces, and to choose you to be quite as much as, perhaps more than any other living man, His instrument for restoring the Church of England. It is a glorious mission, and it is eminently yours. But it places you in the forefront of the battle, and you are therefore called, more than any of us, to encounter all the arts and all the weapons of the Evil One. For yourself I really do not feel regret that it should be so. Were your course a smooth one, had you one trial less than those which have befallen you (and my heart has bled for you under some of them), you would have suffered loss, I have not a shadow of doubt, spiritually. Did all love you and speak well of you, your position would be a far more dangerous one than it even now is to yourself, and perhaps, not a healthy one for the Church. Few men, however, have been permitted to do more in their generation for the Church of God than you are suffered to do. Your influence is felt far and wide for good, and you have the confidence and love, I think, of the soundest and holiest portion of the Church. All your trials, losses, disappointments, have been your Merciful Father's dealings with you; checks and chastisements good and needful for you. But I do not know that I have any right to write to you in this strain, only you have often encouraged me to do so, and in your last note you say my sympathy gives you comfort and strength. I can never cease to sympathise with you in all your trials, who sympathised so tenderly with me in mine; and I often pray for you that you may continue to be a blessing to the Church and blessed yourself."

"I am, indeed, a mere writing-machine," he says. In the same letter (May 21st, 1856) the Bishop mentions the dangerous illness of Bishop Armstrong, adding, "The attacks upon him in this Parliament have had something to do with it. He threatened to withdraw his license from a Mr. C——, who has been an utterly careless Clergyman ever since he has been here. I have had, at each Visitation, violent appeals against him from the Congregation. . . . C—— petitions the Parliament in most offensive language—the Bishop feels that he can take no notice of the Parliament or the public in a matter purely ecclesiastical, and the truth does not come out. The Parliament, eager to deal a blow, receives the petition gladly, claims a sort of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; summons me before it. I refuse to acknowledge their jurisdiction in the matter; they talk of the sergeant-at-arms, and so we have a very pretty quarrel in hand. I put a case to Porter, the Attorney-General, as to the law of the matter, and he thoroughly concurs with me, says the Parliament is thoroughly wrong. I am very easy about it all. Had I conceded, I should have sacrificed the liberties and independence of the Church, and compromised my own rights and dignity as Metropolitan. L—— and his friends rejoice in it, pat the Parliament on the back. Though a Clergyman's question, not another Clergyman of the seventy-five in South Africa lifts up his voice against the Bishop.

"Affairs in Natal are still unsatisfactory. The Bishop has not acted with judgment, but he has the scum of a little Colonial seaport to deal with; and a Bishop's position, alone, without a Synod, and without civil law, or even any clear ecclesiastical law, is very difficult in a Colony, unless he is prepared to throw up the reins and sail with the stream. I have been advised by my Chapter to hold a Synod, as soon as we can prepare for it. I hope to do so in September, if, by that time, I can get Merriman and Newman out. . . . You ask about my health. I am quite well, except that I do not sleep well; excitement knocks me up. The Dean's arrival, however, is a great relief to me. . . . If Newman comes, our work in Cape Town will, I trust, be a vigorous one."

When this letter was written, Bishop Armstrong's short Episcopate was already ended. Mr. Hardie, his friend and Chaplain, wrote to announce the somewhat sudden (at the last) close of his illness on May 16th, and the Metropolitan communicated the great loss sustained by the Church to Mr. Hawkins at once.

"Bishop's Court, May 23rd, 1856.

"My dear Hawkins—It is with the deepest grief that I announce to you that last night's post brought me news of the death of my dear brother, the Bishop of Graham's Town, after a short illness. . . . I think the Bishop's death not only one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen the Church here, but a heavy loss to all South Africa. During the short time that he has been among us, he had endeared himself to very many, and won the respect and confidence of his Diocese. His many gifts, his deep and fervent piety, were producing a great impression around him. Overwork and over-anxiety have, I believe, been the chief causes of his death.". . .

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"May 23rd, 1856.

"My dear Richard—It is with a bleeding heart that I write to tell you that my dear brother, the Bishop of Graham's

Town, is no more. I believe that L—— and his friends working upon our Dutch and Sectarian Assembly, *in re* Copeman, have had much to do with his death. Of course he was not strong, and might have died anyhow; but his dear wife in all her late letters has dwelt much upon these worries. I only heard last night. To-day I have written a sermon on the occasion, and letters to the Archbishop and Hawkins, and have many more to write, and have been awake nearly all night, so my words must be few. Newman, Welby, Merriman, the new Dean, Piers Claughton, are all being named. What will be done I know not. The Diocese must have a considerable voice. Sir G. Grey feels the Bishop's loss very greatly, especially at this critical moment. I must take the administration of the Diocese. The Bishop of Graham's Town was universally respected—he threw himself heartily into the Mission work, and the general improvement of the people. I think he would have done great things if spared to us. I need not tell you that I am very anxious about his successor—for his piety and mind were of a very high order. Sir G. Grey and I will act cordially together."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, July 9th, 1856.

. . . "I have sent Hawkins the sermons preached on the Bishop of Graham's Town's death, and the Church Magazine containing my vindication of the Bishop in a long letter to Mr. Copeman. . . . I have not yet got Newman's answer about the Archdeaconry, nor can I guess what will be done about the Bishopric of Graham's Town. I shall be satisfied with either Merriman, Welby, or Newman. I do not fret about this matter —it is in God's Hands, and I think I have seen His overruling Providence in very many of these appointments. It will be ordered well, I doubt not. We can only pray that a good and true and able Pastor may be raised up. We need such an one, for 'there are many adversaries.' None but those really filling our posts can form any conception of the unceasing anxieties of them, and the worries and vexations which keep the mind in a continual fever. However, the work goes on, and that ought to be enough for us. But these things killed the Bishop of Graham's Town. You will rejoice to hear that the new Dean is nearly all that could be wished. He is doing a great deal in Cape Town. He is a man of great ability and activity; his sermons are some of the very best I ever heard,—very quiet, but very thrilling. They are telling upon the congregation. He is equally active as a parish Priest, in his schools, and as a man of business. I hear that the young Dutchmen are many of them hankering after the Church, but are afraid to avow themselves. The very abuse lavished upon it draws many towards it. If people would but let us alone to do our work in peace and quietness, we should really be very happy in our labours. But this is not our rest;—and part of our work is to endure patiently and meekly wrong and opposition and abuse. It would disturb us less if we looked wholly to God, and if the temper of our own minds were quite right."

To Mrs. Charles Gray.

"Bishop's Court, July 10th, 1856.

. . . "I am writing to you, though with my failing sight scarce able to see, because I have just finished up all my necessary work before departing for the east. I am watching late in the evening for my summons to embark. What takes me to sea is the death of my beloved brother, the Bishop of Graham's Town, who has been called to his rest ere he had made full proof of his ministry among us, but who, endowed with great gifts and greater graces, bade fair to have done much for Christ in this land. None but myself can tell how great his loss is. His soundness in the faith, his great devotion, love, and gentleness, combined with great abilities, were only beginning to tell upon his Diocese,—yet it truly mourns his loss. The Governor, who has just returned from the East, tells me that many are still really in mourning for him, and it is intended to raise a Memorial Chapel over his grave. Sophy has been reading a volume of his sermons to me in the midnight watches, when I have been unable to sleep. I go to take up his work, and to spend some time at the new Mission Station among the

Kafirs, which being new requires constant watchfulness. If I could but sleep, I should be fit for anything!" . . .

Accordingly, on July 12th, 1856, the Bishop sailed, accompanied by Mrs. Gray, for Algoa Bay, and landed at Port Elizabeth on the 15th, a place greatly increased since his last visit, and rapidly increasing. After some work there, they went on to Graham's Town, where they arrived on the 23rd. "We arrived just in time for evening prayers in the Cathedral," the Bishop says. "I felt very sad on entering my dear brother's late abode, a plain house built by him since his arrival. I had looked forward with much satisfaction to seeing the frontier again, and visiting with him the Missions now being founded, and rejoicing with him over the progress of the Church in this land. But instead of this, I come again to take up his work in addition to my own, and to mourn with a sorrowing people over the early loss of a devoted and highly gifted Chief Pastor of the Church. All whom I have met in Graham's Town speak with deep affection and respect of him, who, too soon for us, but not before he was ready to be gathered in, has been taken from his widowed Church. Had it pleased God to spare him a little longer, many new works would have been undertaken which must now be thrown back, not only until a successor shall arrive, but until he shall have mastered the state of his diocese, and have got through the pressure of the first year's work and business, which the late Bishop had just done. . . . The town is somewhat improved since I was last here, and the Fingo and Kafir location in the suburbs greatly increased. In their state the late Bishop took a deep interest. The chapel about to be erected over his earthly remains will, I trust, serve as a place of worship for them, and a religious teacher be attached to it. The sum required for building this chapel, £700, has nearly all been raised, and my wife has furnished a plan and working drawings."

An address from the parishioners, thanking the Metropolitan for coming to them in their bereavement, and for vindicating their late Diocesan from the imputations lately cast upon him in consequence of his withdrawing the license from one of his Clergy, was presented, which the Bishop of Cape Town valued specially as indicating the real feelings of Churchmen on points on which Bishop Armstrong had been so bitterly assailed by the world without. On Sunday, August 3rd, the Bishop ordained four Deacons, who were to have been ordained by the late Bishop on Trinity Sunday, the very day after his death. At this time there were serious apprehensions of a fresh outbreak among the Kafirs, and the Bishop felt doubtful as to his proceedings. However, they started on horseback through a country which the Bishop had last traversed just before the Kafir war broke out. There were traces of the war on their road—a little inn at the Koonap where he had slept was burned down, only the blackened walls remaining, and the Bishop moralised as he went on all the changes those six years had seen. He visited Fort Beaufort and Alice, and passed through some of the finest scenery in Kaffraria to the Mission Station near Fort Cox, going on to King William's Town, which had become nearly double the size it was when he last visited it. From here the Bishop went up to Umhalla's Mission Station at the Ikobongo, where Mr. Greenstock, the Priest in charge, was doing a work highly satisfactory to his Chief The next morning the whole party went up to Umhalla's abode, about a mile from the station. The old Chief, in full uniform—that is, in a corporal's dress, the worse for wear, a battered old hat, and shoes without soles—(the Bishop said that he looked very much like one of the baboons of his own mountains !)—and attended by his Fingo councillors, came out to meet them, and greeted them cordially. They had a long talk, in which the Bishop told him the reports as to war, telling him that if he began it, he would be driven across the Kei, and repent it all the rest of his life. The old man denied any warlike intentions, but the Bishop said he felt him to be a wily old diplomatist, and knew not whether he could be trusted. They went on to Sandilli's Mission Station, escorted by Umhalla's son and nephew. Sandilli had a sick child; and on the Bishop's advising that it should be sent to Dr. Fitzgerald, who was in charge of a Kafir Hospital in King William's Town, the Chief answered readily, "Yes, if it is the man that skins eyes!"

The Bishop was not sorry to be safe in Graham's Town again, whence he returned to Port Elizabeth, and consecrated the new church of St. Paul's; and then, visiting Schoonberg, George, the Knysna, Mossel Bay, Riversdale, Caledon, etc., he reached home again on October 6th. His forty-seventh birthday (October 3rd, 1856) was spent at Houw Hoek. "What toilsome anxious years, these nine since I came to this Diocese!" the Bishop wrote that night. "Yet during them, how much God has wrought for His Church and Truth amid bitter opposition and discouragements of every kind. I should not have dared eight years ago, in my most sanguine moments, to have hoped to see the Church in its present state in this land. Its advancement has been as rapid, I will not say as we could have wished, but as I think would have been safe. It is that advancement which has caused so much of the hostility which, in quarters affected by its progress, is avowed towards it. Amidst all, however, it marches onward in its course; and it will continue to do so, let whosoever will gainsay, if we prove faithful. One of our greatest temptations at present is to lose our Christian spirit under provocation, to feel irritated and angry with those who oppose and revile us. May God give us grace to be meek, gentle, and loving towards all, even those who hate us. Perhaps the greatest thing I have to fear for myself is the loss of a kind, gentle, loving temper. May God pardon the past and give more grace for the future!"

Returning to Cape Town the Bishop writes to the Bishop of Oxford:—

"I watch your progress in Convocation and in Parliament very carefully. God bless you and preserve you to fight the Church's battles, till she is free to work without the chains which now bind her. I wish you felt less keenly bitter words. If you are on Christ's side the world *will* rise against you; and the greater your power and influence, the greater will be its malice. With you, I think the greatest of our trials is the want of love and sympathy and confidence of our evangelical brethren, from whom we do not widely differ, and with whom we could work and would work in peace and harmony if they would let us. I think I am abused by the press here in my little world, as much as you in your great one; but I have almost ceased to care for abuse. It really, I think, does the Church very little harm, and I am sure that it does many Churchmen a great deal of good. . . . I am looking anxiously for the appointments to London and Durham. The Metropolitan city is the field for you. I will not believe, till I know the contrary, that even Palmerston will not ask you to occupy a post which there is perhaps not another Bishop on the bench who could adequately fill."

After the Bishop's return to Cape Town, he was for a time in great trouble and annoyance concerning the new appointment to Graham's Town, which was looked upon by some as a party move, and an attempt to send an extreme evangelical among them. This was but a passing care, and it is needless to say how warm the affection between Bishop Gray and Bishop Cotterill became, or how heartily they worked together as with but one mind. This continually appears throughout the future pages of Bishop Gray's life.

"It has been very painful to me to have to remonstrate with the Archbishop," he wrote, November 22nd, 1856, "loving his (Mr. Cotterill's) character as I do, and believing him to be personally very good. . . . But I do feel very strongly that the appointment is a wrong and an injustice to many, and that I am the person who, from my position, am marked out as the proper channel of communicating to his Grace the feelings of others. He has allowed himself to be made the tool of violent partisans. I am deeply grieved to have been compelled to take a step which must alter all my future relations with the Archbishop; but in writing as I have done, I believe I have done my duty to God and to the Church, and feeling this, it would have been mean and faithless to be silent." . . .

In the same letter the Bishop alludes to his Pastoral which was then printing, concerning the Assembly he proposed to call together of Clergy and Laity, to take counsel with him concerning the affairs of the Church. This document is so important that it seems right to give it *in extenso* :—

"TO THE REV. THE CLERGY AND TO THE LAY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF CAPETOWN.

"My dear Brethren — The time appears to me to have arrived when it becomes my duty no longer to delay to invite the Clergy and the representatives of the Laity of this Diocese to meet together, and take common counsel with me concerning the affairs of the Church.

"It is just five years since I first brought the subject officially under your notice in a pastoral letter; and it will be within your recollection that, at a subsequent period, I requested you to consider in your several parishes—

"1. The desirableness of our thus meeting together.

"2. The leading principles which were involved in such meetings.

"The whole subject was at the time discussed with much interest, and the conclusions at which you arrived were forwarded to me in England by the late Dean. From his communication it appears, that though here and there there was more or less of doubt, there was but one parish in *this* Diocese in which a majority of the Laity expressed their desire that the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity, should not meet together from time to time for the better management of their own ecclesiastical affairs, and that three only of the Clergy concurred in that opinion.

"With such an expression of the views of so considerable a proportion of the Clergy and Laity before me, I should, on my return to this country, have invited you to assemble together, had I not lived in the continual expectation that some Act would have been passed by the Imperial Parliament which should give legal effect and validity to our proceedings and conclusions. Of this, however, there seems now to be but little prospect. The matter has, I understand, been dropped on the following grounds :

"It is alleged, 1st, That there is no necessity for such a measure, there being no reasonable doubts as to the lawfulness of Diocesan Synods.

"2nd, That for the Imperial Parliament to legislate at all for colonies where parliaments exist, would be to interfere with the rights and functions of such parliaments.

"3rd, That to do so, in however small a degree, would give the Church a legal status and position above that of other religious bodies, and thereby interfere with their political equality.

"Certainly the attempt has been made to frame a law to meet the supposed difficulty, which should not invade the province of colonial parliaments, nor give a legal superiority to the Church over other religious bodies, but without success; and there seems to be no probability that the matter will again be brought before Parliament. This appears to be clear, from a despatch by the present Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of Canada, dated 15th of February, 1856. After expressing the 'strong feeling which Her Majesty's Government have' that the difficulties attending any attempt at Imperial legislation on this subject should not 'be permitted to interfere with the meeting of Clergy and Laity, by representative bodies, for the purpose of making rules for the management of Church affairs,' he expresses his conviction that, for 'purposes so simple, statutable aid is not necessary;' that, 'if not necessary, it is highly inexpedient;' that it would be 'difficult to frame such a measure, of the merest enabling character, without in some degree compromising the principle which regards legislation on the internal affairs of Canada as belonging to its own legislature, and not that of the empire at large. However guarded the expressions might be, there would be danger of constituting within the province a kind of corporate body, independent in some degree of the provincial legislature itself.' There can be no doubt, therefore, that the idea of Imperial legislation is altogether abandoned. The Colonial Churches are left to act for themselves, as their wants or wishes may impel them. Nor have they been slow to avail themselves of what is now their generally recognised liberty.

Assemblies, at which the laity have been represented by their delegates, have been already held in several Dioceses, both in the North American Provinces and in Australia, and are about to be held elsewhere; the basis upon which they have proceeded being that of the bill prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

"The reasons which lead me to think, after consultation with my Chapter, and with both Clergy and Laity in different parts of the country, that the period has arrived for our meeting together for mutual counsel, are many. I will touch only upon a few of them.

"I. The general interests of the Church seem to me to require that we should consider the bearing which the important questions now being mooted elsewhere may have upon its present state and future prospects. Amongst the questions to which I allude, I may name—the Apportionment of Ecclesiastical Grants; the Voluntary Principle; the Subject of Education.

"II. But the internal condition of the Church presents to my mind a still stronger reason for adopting such a course. We are, and have long been, suffering for want of some authority to lay down rules and regulations for the management of our affairs. Hitherto almost everything in this land has rested unduly upon the Bishop. Upon him, of necessity, has devolved the responsibility of settling all questions which the Assembled Church can alone properly decide. What and how many have arisen, in the adaptation of the laws and system of our Church to the circumstances of this half-heathen land, I do not stop to detail. Sufficient it is to say, that amidst the difficulties and peculiarities of our position, all matters have been referred to him for decision. He is not the Church, nor yet the lawgiver of the Church, but the judge and executor of the Church's laws; and yet he has had thrust upon him, to some extent, the office of legislator. At least, he has had to deal with all unforeseen difficulties which have arisen, according to the best of his judgment and discretion. He has been placed in a wrong position. And the whole government and discipline of the Church, and the whole conduct of its affairs, resting as it does upon one, is in danger of being enfeebled. Nor is this all. Upon him has rested the responsibility of maintaining nearly the whole of the work which has been established since the foundation of the See. He has been personally liable for the whole expenditure, and the funds to meet it have been mainly raised by his private appeals to the Church at home. Societies have rendered, comparatively speaking, little help. *This* whole Diocese has never had more than £600 a year from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. With such an addition to funds placed at his disposal by private friends, he has borne the cost of bringing out upwards of seventy clergymen, missionaries, or schoolmasters; has guaranteed them their income for a fixed period of years; has made up all shortcomings and neglect to fulfil engagements; has borne all risks of loss or failure. It is in no complaining or boastful spirit that I say this; nor is it because our financial position affords at present any great cause for anxiety or alarm,—for I am thankful to say that this is not so. I wish simply to put the fact before you, that the maintenance of the work of the Church in its new and extensive fields of labour has hitherto chiefly rested, in this land, upon the life and health of one man. It is not right or safe that it should continue to do so.

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[1] The Archbishop's bill was considered at many meetings by the whole English Episcopate, summoned by the Archbishop for that express purpose. When completely matured, after long and anxious consideration, it was submitted to and approved by the Secretary of State. It was carried through the House of Lords; but was rejected by the House of Commons for the reasons stated above. That bill will be reprinted in the Church Magazine for December.

"These, then, are the chief reasons which have induced me, after consultation with others, to call you together for counsel and support. For nine years I have cheerfully borne, alone, the burden of providing, maintaining, guiding, and directing the works which have been undertaken, and the affairs of this church; because, in our existing circumstances, having no legitimate means of ascertaining the wishes, or receiving the concurrence of the Church at large to my measures, none could share it with me. How heavily these duties, which form no necessary or essential part of my office, have pressed upon me, —in what an unceasing round of secular business they have involved me—few have, I believe, any conception; but what have been the anxieties and distresses which have arisen out of them, all have in some measure been able to judge. They have been enough to break the spirit and wear out the energies of men in every way more fitted to sustain them than myself. Nothing but the conviction that I was called for Christ's Sake to bear them, and the belief that strength would be given to do what He gave me to do, has sustained me. They have, however, before now, brought me to the verge of the grave.

"It is because, then, I am persuaded that no body can exist in a state of efficiency without the power of legislating for the emergencies which may arise; and still more because I am convinced that the Church in this half-heathen land, emerging, as it is, out of its mere missionary state, and assuming a more settled and established position; surrounded, too, as it is, by peculiar difficulties and perplexing questions, needs the counsel and the wisdom of all orders of the Church, in order to its vigorous and healthy expansion; and because it is now clear that it is no longer necessary that I should bear alone the weight of the responsibility and labour which have hitherto been laid upon me,—that I have resolved, without further delay, to invite my brethren of the Laity, as well as the Clergy, to sustain their share of the duties which belong to them in the Church of God.

"That such is the course which I ought to pursue, and indeed the only course which I could pursue, I can have no doubt. It is precisely that which has been adopted by the Bishops of our oldest and most influential Dioceses, which once were surrounded by the same difficulties and perplexities with which we are encompassed, but are now reaping the benefits of duly organised assemblies. It is that which has been marked out for us by the whole English Episcopate, and by the sense of justice of the chief authorities in the State in the mother-land.[1] There cannot, therefore, be the remotest ground for supposing that, in meeting together, we are running counter to any law, or to the views and opinions of any authorities in Church or State.

"It is right that I should state the course which I shall pursue in summoning our first Assembly, and that I should name at least some of the more important matters which are likely to come under its consideration.

"In calling together the Church by its chosen representatives, I shall take for my guide, as I believe all the other Dioceses to which allusion has been made have done, the bill prepared with great care, at repeated meetings, by the Bishops of the Church in England, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"The great principles of that bill are the same as those agreed to by the Clergy and Laity at their repeated public meetings in Cape Town, in the year 1852. It provides that nothing can be determined by a Synod except with the concurrence of each of the three orders therein assembled; that none but communicants can be delegates of the Laity; that all *bona fide* members of the Church shall have a voice in their election; that the standards of faith and doctrine contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and the thirty-nine Articles, are not matters that come within the range of a Diocesan Synod's authority. In accordance with these principles, I purpose to invite each parish or congregation to elect a Lay Delegate to represent it in the Assembly which will be held,—the Cathedral Church alone, as being the mother church of the Diocese, and chiefest in influence and numbers, being invited to send two. The delegates must, in all cases, be communicants. The electors must be *bona fide* members of the English Church. Who are such, in a country where the population is continually undergoing a change, it is not always easy to decide, and the settlement of this point must be left to the Synod itself when duly organised. Meantime, as the basis of this constituency of this our first Assembly should be as wide as possible, without incurring the risk of the real members of the Church being overwhelmed and outvoted by those who are not her true members, it seems desirable that not only should all communicants, and all confirmed and enrolled male adults of the age of twenty-one, be entitled to vote for delegates, but all who shall at the time of the election declare themselves to be members of the Church of England, and of no other religious denomination.

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[1] The Queen in Council has approved of the bill framed by the Melbourne Synod, and passed at their request by the Colonial Legislature. The present Secretary of State points out this as the proper course for the Canadian Church to pursue in its peculiar circumstances, and has instructed the Governor-General to communicate his despatch to the several Bishops of that Church.

"All duly licensed Clergy, being in Priest's orders, will be summoned. Deacons will be authorised to attend and speak, but not to vote. The Synod will be competent to deal with all matters except those of faith and doctrine, these being already fixed and determined, and not being within the province of such an Assembly.

"It would be difficult to say what matters can be brought before a body which, previous to discussing subjects of inferior moment, must determine its own exact constitution, as well as its forms of proceedings. The precedents and decisions of other Colonial Dioceses will indeed help considerably in the settlement of these questions; but time will doubtless be taken up most properly and carefully in their discussion. When these shall have been determined, I shall wish to bring before the Synod some, at least, of the following subjects,—while I need scarce say both Clergy and Laity will have opportunities afforded them of bringing forward such other subjects as they deem of importance:—

"I. The steps to be taken to place the Clergy of this Diocese in the position of Incumbents, instead of that of Licensed Curates.

"II. The Appointment, Support, and Discipline of the Clergy.

"III. The Tenure and Management of Church Property.

"IV. Questions relating to the Formation and Constitution of Parishes.

"V. Difficulties which have presented themselves with regard to Marriages, Divorces, and Sponsors.

"VI. The Mission Work of the Diocese.

"VII. The Subject of Education.

"VIII. The desirableness, or otherwise, of sanctioning a set of Hymns.

"IX. The desirableness, or otherwise, of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity meeting periodically together, and the frequency of such meetings.

"X. The desirableness, or otherwise, of seeking to obtain the assistance of the Legislature to carry out the objects of the Synod.

"The elections in each parish will take place on the 22nd of December, the more remote parishes being at liberty, if they see fit, to fix upon an earlier day. The place where we shall assemble will be the Cathedral Church of S. George. On the day previous to opening the Synod, the Holy Communion will be celebrated. Divine service will begin at 11 o'clock. After the Sermon, which will be preached by the Dean, shall be ended, I propose to deliver a charge to the Clergy.

"I have only now, in conclusion, Brethren, to intreat you to consider that our meeting together in a solemn Assembly will be no ordinary event: that it will be a critical and important period in the history of our Church. Let us pray that we may be of one heart and of one mind; that we may love as brethren; that, putting aside all worldly feelings and affections, all passion and all prejudice, we may gather together with a single eye,—with a sincere and humble desire to be permitted in any degree to minister to the promotion of God's Glory, and the advancement of His Kingdom upon Earth.

"May God, for His Dear Son's Sake, pardon all our infirmities and sins; bless all our honest endeavours to do Him service; and send down His Holy Spirit upon us, to guide us into all peace and into all truth.—I am, my dear Brethren, your affectionate Friend and Pastor, R. CAPETOWN.

"Bishop's Court, Nov. 15, 1856."

The Synod met January 21st, 1857, and full minutes of the proceedings are published. These, however, are very technical, and the Bishop's own letters convey a more lively, if less formal, account of them.

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Bishop's Court, January 25th, 1857.

"My dear Williamson—I avail myself of a spare half-hour to begin a letter to you; when it will be finished I know not, for I am engaged from eight A.M. till ten at night with the Synod and Synod-men. We have had warm work of it, as you will see by the last *Church Magazine*, which Sophy has, I believe, forwarded to you. I must, however, give you a *resumé* for yourself and the family; for it is utterly impossible to write letters amid the incessant occupations of the present time. I think I told you when I last wrote that I had no fears about my Synod, if it could be got together, but that I had some doubts about the scruples and difficulties of parishes. My words have proved true. Upon the appearance of my Pastoral, men began to put forth legal difficulties. These were at length embodied in Mr. Surtees' letters to me, who being beat in law and argument, replied in his last offensive letter (for which, by the by, the Governor called him to account, and, had he not apologised, the Foreign Office would probably have dismissed him). His objections, however, had their weight, and puzzled and disturbed minds. The consequence is that five parishes declined to send delegates, and two were unable. All the rest have elected, though all are not yet arrived. We meet, however, daily, in number about forty. The utmost unanimity prevails. We discuss matters with great freedom, and, on the part of several, with great ability. Resolutions are pulled to pieces with an unmerciful criticism; and we have already passed several important measures, and are likely, I hope, to pass all of any importance. You will have received the papers containing my Charge (Appendix) and Address. It is curious, amid much that is painful and distressing, to see the interest attached to all connected with the Church of England in this country, which ten years ago was treated as hardly having an existence. The press, which is for the most part in the hands of dissenters, relies upon the discussion of Church subjects for its sale; editors apply to me for my Charge before it is delivered, and drive out here in hired carriages to obtain it afterwards. There is a great deal that is unhealthy in all this, and the fact that a not inconsiderable number of our brethren are afraid of, or opposed to our Synod, of course gives a zest to the whole matter. Our opponents within the Church are—

"I. Those who really think the Synod is in violation of statute law, and the constitutions and laws of the Church.

"II. Those who put forward as their chief plea, but who do not like, the laws and constitutions of the Church, and are afraid that we shall put them in force. Amongst these is the really active opposition. They profess to think that we shall oust them from the Church, and they would rather the Bishop stood alone than backed by his Synod. Lamb is the ostensible leader of these; the only other Clergyman with him is Long. Two other Clergymen are opposed: ——, an old naval chaplain, an Establishment man, who has no views about the Church, and —— of ——, whose scruples are partly conscientious, but much more, unknown to him, the result of the opinions of his Indianised parishioners. All the rest of the Clergy, and all the other parishes, are heartily with me.

"III. The last class of opponents are the old humdrum, quiet-going, worldly set. I see more and more the importance of having good Clergymen.

"All of us are somewhat fagged at the end of the first week. . . . My anxiety is to a great extent over, and we have now only a difficult and exhausting week before us. Amidst my anxieties, I have had some nice addresses from Cape Town and George. We have our house quite full, and provide a cold dinner every day in Cape Town. The expense is ruinous; but I heartily hope we may get through our work by Saturday. The formation of Ecclesiastical Courts is our most difficult work yet before us. The two Archdeacons, White, and the Dean, are our chief men; they are all, in their several ways, great guns. Davidson is very clever, especially in picking holes. Captain Rainier, Dr. Bickersteth, Colonel Aston, Frere (Wordsworth's brother-in-law), Tennant, and Davidson, are our chief laymen."

To EDWARD GRAY, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, February 10th, 1857.

"Now that our Synod is over, you will like to hear what we have been doing. . . . We have debated many grave subjects with all the wisdom, learning, and eloquence which became such an Assembly, and are now all of us sleeping up lost nights at our leisure. It has been a hard and anxious time, and I have been all but done up. But God has, I believe, been with us. We have determined many important subjects, and our conclusions cannot fail to have a very important bearing on the future condition and history of the South African Church. We have transplanted the system and organisation of the Church of England to this land—our whole parochial system (which hardly exists in the Colonies), our Ecclesiastical Courts, laws, etc. The Clergy all debated very ably, and all with great freedom, not to say pertinacity. I think, upon the whole, White has been our most useful man. He laid his head on the table and fairly sobbed when I alluded to his years of gratuitous service, and our seeing his face no more in future Assemblies.

"The only point in which we were in danger was that of Ecclesiastical Courts. Some of the Clergy, led by Welby, wanted to make the finding of three assessors, presbyters—in cases even of heresy—binding on the Bishop. None but the Dean and myself saw at first the fatal principle sought to be introduced, and I could not speak without using undue influence. White soon backed up the Dean, and all but one came round. The resolution relating to the future appointment of Bishops was carried by acclamation, and was meant to be the South African Church's reply to the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the appointment to the See of Graham's Town. If matters go on much longer in this way, Dioceses will refuse to receive the

Bishops sent out to them. On the question of the tenure of Church property, and support of the Clergy, and patronage, you will see that the Synod wishes to leave everything as at present. The burdens and responsibilities now resting on the Bishop are to be retained by him, and with these the rights and privileges. Several of the Clergy, with myself, were prepared, on the question of patronage, to give some voice to parishes; but the laity would not hear of it. I retired during the whole discussion of this subject. The Declaration of Principles was the most difficult document to frame, next to the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill—far more difficult than one not in our situation would imagine. There were many warm expressions towards myself, and entire confidence expressed both as to financial measures, and appointment of Clergy, and general administration of affairs. Very many of the Clergy wished for no Ecclesiastical Court, but to be tried by me alone. You will see that I challenged the Church to take all the property of the Church and the whole arrangement of funds into its own hands, offering to give up all S. P. G. grants and private funds to any Board the Synod might appoint, and that they unanimously declined, expressing entire confidence in my management, and requesting me to continue the system which for nine years I have carried on with satisfaction to all. I was really the only reluctant person in the assembly."

Besides the subjects alluded to in the Bishop's letters, the Synod formed and ruled a fund for sick and aged Clergy, and rules for the Diocesan Library, concerning which they passed a vote of thanks to the Rev. John Keble and other friends in England, who had presented the Diocese with a valuable library. It is evident from the general tone of his letters that the Bishop was very much worn and wearied at this time amid the various pressing cares of his Diocese. He frequently alludes, incidentally, to his continued trial of sleeplessness under any anxiety, and in one letter says that when a succession of sleepless nights occurs, he fears lest he should entirely break down. Active as he naturally was, the yearning for rest often grew overpowering. Writing to his sister, who had been seriously ill, he says: "It will make you, dearest, look forward still more steadily to that lasting home for which you are ever ripening. I catch glimpses of it too, and often long to be there, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. The unceasing bustle of my life, the urgent pressure of never-ending business, the table loaded with unanswered letters, all occupy much of that time I long to give more entirely to God and the things of God. If there is one thing I long for more than other things, it is for leisure to read, and think, and meditate on things unseen. At present it is by only snatches that I can approach these things."

About this time the marriage of the Bishop's eldest daughter to the Rev. Edward Glover, then working as a Missionary in the Lange Kloof, was settled. "Think of Louisa about to be married!" he writes from Malmesbury to Mrs. Mowbray, April 30, 1857. "Glover is an excellent man, one of the very best we have had out here. . . . They will, perhaps, be married by the end of June, shortly after which I hope to start for S. Helena, and from thence I shall probably move on to England. I think that now I must go there, even if S. P. G. should relieve my anxieties about maintaining my work, for I have much to do. I think that I must attempt the foundation of at least one more See. The Governor's plans will render this necessary, if carried out. We are out now on a month's Visitation. I am going over a part of the Diocese that I have never yet seen—where we have been establishing lately some Mission schools for the Hottentots. The foundation of more of these schools is one of the chief works yet to be done in the Diocese. Those that have been established are, I trust, doing a great deal of good. Here we have 300 people, whom, six months ago, nobody cared for. Three miles off is our Mission farm. To-morrow I go fifty miles over sand to a new village, near to which the coloured people want me to found an Institution; and for eight days I am going to travel over sand. I do not much relish it."

To ——, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, May 30th, 1857.

"My dear —— I received your letter a few days ago. The most important point in it is that in which you tell me that you have had doubts within yourself as to whether the Bible was true or not, and that you fancy it was from reading and thinking over the books of Moses. You do not, however, say what your difficulties are; it is, therefore, impossible for me to attempt to remove them by letter, as I may be dwelling on points which have given you no trouble. All that I can, therefore, say is, that there *are* difficulties in Holy Scripture—difficulties which have probably been permitted to be there to try the faith and humility of God's people, to invite them reverently to examine and inquire—which are chiefly difficulties to the half informed and irreverent. I think that yours are probably only difficulties which require explanation and more reading. I do not think, from the tone of your letter, or your fault-finding spirit as regards yourself, from your remarks about the Holy Communion, and from what I know of the general course of your life, that yours is the result and penalty of a vain, forward, irreverent, presumptuous, scoffing spirit. Were this your state of mind, the loss of faith would be the natural result and penalty. But doubts and difficulties are sometimes the direct temptation of the evil one. He instils these into the mind. When we lay ourselves open to him by unguarded conduct, levity, or any secret sin, he obtains power over us, and suggests to us evil, unbelieving thoughts. If you are allowing yourself in any known sin, if you are not manfully and prayerfully battling with your corruptions." . . . [Fragment.]

To JOHN MOWBRAY, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, June 4th, 1857.

"My dear Mowbray . . . The prospects of England are not very cheering. I am no admirer of Lord Palmerston, or his ecclesiastical advisers. Thank you for your efforts to get me £1,400 from S. P. G. It would have been wise to have granted it, as that might have tempted me to hold on here for some further time. . . . Some special fund is essential, not to the extension, but to the maintenance of my work,—I cannot, therefore, forego a visit to England. . . . If I were to make any great effort in England, it would be for the erection of two new Bishoprics for Africa. I almost fear that I should not succeed for S. Helena, though I really cannot attend to it. I would give something to take that myself.

"Our affairs here are prospering. The Kafirs are completely crushed and starving. The Parliament, leaving off its attacks upon us, is attending, and attending well, to the business of the country. They have voted £50,000 for emigration; are hot about railroads, and the improvement of Table Bay, and other important works. Their chief act of folly has been to throw out an excellent Government scheme of education, because they thought it was mine, and would work for the Church of England. The Governor is very popular and very ill; they speak of him as the best Governor the Colony has ever had. This is, I think, true. . . . I should be glad to see that the Conservatives were again joined by Gladstone. You have not your proper weight in the country, because your leaders are deficient in character, ability, and statesmanlike qualities. He has more of them than all your leaders put together."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, June 6th, 1857.

. . . "We have only been at home about ten days from a very interesting but laborious journey, during which I have visited parts of my Diocese where I have never been before, *e.g.* S. Helena, Saldanha Bay, and Clanwilliam. I have written a full account to Hawkins, and will, therefore, not go over the ground again; but I may say that both Sophy and I were very much interested in the condition of the old settlers of Clanwilliam, who have not been visited by a Clergyman of our Church for thirty-three years, and whose offspring have of necessity joined the Dutch Church, whose present minister is a drunkard and bankrupt. They are all very anxious for me to send them a Clergyman, and told me they would gladly all join their Mother Church. Some poor sick things with whom I prayed were very thankful, and sobbed and kissed my hands, and spoke of the yearning that their parents had on their death-bed for the visits of an English Clergyman. God helping, I shall never leave them again without occasional visits. I cannot afford to send them a Clergyman, but periodically some one shall go to them, once in six months at least, if possible once a quarter. Then I found the poor coloured people there and at Piketburg in a deplorable condition. At the latter place they crowded round me, asking what they were to learn to become Christians, and said it was so good in a *predikant* to talk to them! There is a Dutch Clergyman there, a mere farmer. I was urged by the Dutch villagers to administer the Sacraments to a dying woman, whose home was the very next to his, but whom he neglected. I could not refuse to help a soul passing out of time into eternity. . . . These poor heathen, of whom there are 300, prayed me to send them a teacher, and the few English joined in asking for some one to care for them both, but all that I was able to do was to appoint the Chief Constable to read prayers in the Court House, to give £10 to a Dutch schoolmaster to hold services for the heathen, to send a few books, and promise an occasional visit from a Clergyman. I trust that for both these places God will provide the means, and raise up fit men. I am now burning to found more Mission stations. My last year's one is paying nine per cent on the purchase-money. I have just bought another magnificent farm of 6,000 acres for £3,250, upon which Glover and Louisa will live. I dare not go farther, but I am sorely tempted with several other purchases. I can only pay for my last purchase by mortgaging it. Henceforth, if my life be spared, it will be chiefly devoted to Hottentot Missions. I now begin to find that I must give myself to the Dutch language so as to preach in it. Hitherto I have been quite unable from other more absorbing occupations, and I cannot get any one out here to teach me, unless I exchange Sophy, as I tell her must be the case, for a Dutch *vrow!* . . . I believe Louisa will be married on S.

Peter's Day, the tenth anniversary of my consecration. . . . I have no less than three German missionaries, excellent men, strict Lutherans, whose whole sympathies are with us, and wish to join us. I know not whether it will be so arranged, for there are difficulties, but I need the command of money to take such men up. I wish to bring all the German work, if possible, into closer connection with ourselves, but it is the Lutherans chiefly who draw towards us. . . . I could spend £5,000 within the next six months in small school chapels and other mission buildings if I had it. But I must not weary you with these things. We are perhaps moving on quite as fast as is good for us, and certainly too fast for those who view us with no friendly eye. You know not, however, what a comfort it is to get away from the strife of tongues, and the wrangling of Parliaments, and the violence of newspapers, to real work, either among our own people or the poor heathen. You will soon hear that we are voting large sums for emigrants. Now men may safely come, if they keep, as they mostly will, to the towns and villages. Thank God, very few will be beyond the reach of the ministration of the Church.

"I hope, dearest, that you are now quite well, and that your eyes are not plaguing you. My sight sensibly fails me. I feel the difference from month to month. I look upon this as God's tender call to us both. He is warning us that our poor frail bodies are failing us. You will, dearest, I am sure, be calmly looking on to the end, and I trust that I am learning to do so too. Save for the love of those near and dear, and the need my little ones have of a father's care, I have no wish to remain here. All that I desire is a greater proof that I am prepared for what I yet trust shall be my lasting home. I need, dearest, your prayers, and I know that I have them. I have many trials, great difficulties, and there is far more of evil to be subdued than I thought even a few years ago. Yet my single desire is to serve Christ. I have no thought but how to do this. Would that it were done with fewer infirmities, which have too often been a hindrance to my work. But I am running on, and must cease. My little Florence comes with her

usual cry, 'Papa, do you want me?'—Ever, dearest, your affectionate brother,
R. Capetown."

To Mr. Charles R. Gray.

"Bishop's Court, July 8th, 1857.

"My dearest boy—I send you a line to say that I married Louisa last Thursday, July 2nd, to Mr. Glover, and that all went off well. The Governor gave her away, and we had a large party of friends. They will, I trust, be very happy. They are now on their way to the Mission Station beyond George. . . . I feel the loss of her, and am very sorry to part with her. She has ever been a dutiful and affectionate child. . . . We were all much amused with your letter, lecturing me about my health. Since the worries of the Synod have passed, I have been sleeping well and growing fat. It is mental anxiety only which slays me. . . . You tell me that one school-fellow has not passed his matriculation examination. I should be grievously disappointed if you failed in this; so I trust you are really working and making sure of your ground as you advance. A thorough grammatical knowledge of Latin and Greek is what I am most anxious for in your case. It is the foundation of all future knowledge."

To the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, July 31st, 1857.

"My dear Richard—I congratulate you on the successful completion of your church and its consecration. I trust that it may greatly tend to the furtherance of God's Glory and the good of souls. Your wife has been mercifully spared, and your gentle sister taken. She is, I doubt not, at rest and peace with God. It will be a blessed day for us all when we go where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, if only we be ripe for the ingathering. As far as I am concerned, though surrounded with more earthly blessings than other men, I should welcome that day, if my faith were somewhat deeper, and love purer, and sin more rooted out. I long for more time for study and contemplation; but the unceasing demands of business, and the fret of a life so largely secular, both absorb the time and draw off the mind from spiritual things. I find it at least very difficult even to write sermons amidst a press of purely worldly business. Dearest Sophy relieves me more and more, indeed, and is herself absorbed as much as I am. What should I do without her!

"You seem to think it doubtful whether I shall come home. There is no help for it. I do not want to move. It is very inconvenient to me to do so, and my absence throws back my whole work. But what am I to do? I lose £2,400. I gain £1,200, *i.e.* at Christmas. I shall have £1,200 less than last year. England will furnish me with £1,800. I cannot carry on my work as it ought to be done with less than £3,000. It is for pure Mission work that I want funds. In this direction I may say that a great door is opened out to the Church. We must go on. We cannot hold back. . . . I know that I shall help the work in my Diocese more by going home than by staying here; so I shall go. My sincere wish is not to go. It is merely duty that takes me. I would give a very great deal to be free from all this part of my work, and to be permitted to labour during the rest of my life simply in spiritual work; but God has ordained it otherwise."

According to the plans above mentioned, the Bishop and Mrs. Gray sailed in October, 1857, for S. Helena, where they arrived on the 27th, and where he found Church matters decidedly improved since his last visit. The time spent there seemed quite a holiday, he said. He left S. Helena again early in 1858, and arrived at Southampton, February 8th, having been joined by his children, proceeding immediately to London, where he established his family at Bayswater before beginning another wearying round of begging for his Diocese. Once more the Bishop's Journal gives the best indication of his occupations and aims whilst in England.

"*February* 10*th*, 1858, Breakfasted with the Bishop of Oxford. Met Wordsworth, Sir George Prevost, Massingberd, Claughton, Archdeacon Harrison, Jebb, Archdeacon Bickersteth, Archdeacon Randall, Professor Browne, Lord A. Compton, and several others. Long talk about Convocation matters. The two first men who came into the room were men whom I had invited successively to be Bishops of Graham's Town. Went afterwards to Convocation, and spent the whole day there. Debate on Home Missions.

"*February* 11*th*, Breakfasted again with Bishop of Oxford, and to Convocation. . . . Dined in Jerusalem Chamber with Dean and Chapter. Met Dean Milman, Cureton, etc. Many requests to preach. Engaged to help the Bishop of Oxford in Lent services at Oxford and Henley, and to preach on Whit Sunday in Westminster Abbey.

"*February* 12*th*, Went to the Commons to hear Lord Palmerston bring in his India Bill; heavy debate. Took Charlie also, who came up on Wednesday, and took us all in, affecting to be a young man wanting employment at the Cape. We none of us knew him!

"*February* 13*th*, Called upon Labouchere and Sir G. Barrow at the Colonial Office. Received very heartily. Labouchere expressed great interest in Synods, and said that he had done all he could to promote them; asked much about Graham's Town, Sir G. Grey, etc. Talk about S. Helena Bishopric. Hope it is advanced a stage. . . . S. P. G. Hawkins agrees to a special Committee next Thursday to consider the case of the Diocese of Cape Town. When I know what the Society decides, I shall be able to shape my own course. Very many offers of assistance in various quarters, several candidates offering themselves, apparently promising men.

"*February* 16*th*, Dined at Miss Coutts' to meet Dr. Livingstone. Bishops of Oxford and Exeter there.

"*February* 18*th*, S. P. G. Standing Committee to consider the case of my Diocese; no great encouragement. 20*th*, To Leamington. Sermons and meetings at various places. Arrived in time to hear a very powerful sermon from Mr. Milman on the conversion of S. Peter.

"*February* 26*th*, Off again to help the Bishop of Oxford in the Mission. Hurried off to preach at Caversham in the evening. Returned in time to hear the end of the Bishop of Oxford's sermon on Judgment. . . . Met Carter, Claughton, Woodford, Laurel, Eland, Burgon, Leighton, etc. Arranged for much work for myself.

" *February* 27*th*, Addressed communicants at 8 A.M. At 11.30 Carter preached a very powerful and thoughful sermon. At 1 the Clergy met to consider how to improve the occasion to themselves and to their people. Very interesting meeting. Evening Liddon preached.

" *February* 28*th*, Preached at Sonning in morning, and Earley in the afternoon, returning in time for the Bishop of Oxford's closing sermon on Perseverance—church crowded in every corner; there could not be less than 2,000 persons present. . . .

" *March* 3*rd*, Oxford, President of Magdalene. Meeting for India in theatre, Vice-Chancellor in the chair. Duke of Marlborough, Moberly, Provost of Oriel, and myself, spoke. . . .

" *March* 5*th*, Return to London. Mass of letters come in offering sermons and meetings in answer to my appeal just sent out. To Bishop of Jamaica. . . S. P. G. . . making arrangements for sermons and meetings.

" *March* 7*th*, Preached at S. George's, Hanover Square. . . .

" *March* 11*th*, Large Cape Mail;—the Clergy write to me as if I could settle all little details here as I can at home. All press fresh claims upon me. . . .

" *March* 12*th*, Meeting about spiritual wants of sailors at the Cape and S. Helena.

" 16*th*, S. P. G. three dreary hours with a Sub-Committee—told them plainly that their new system could not work. . . .

" 19*th*, S. P. G. monthly meeting, afterwards meeting of Colonial Bishop's Council; Archbishops and Bishop of London present—brought before them the recommendation of my Synod about the endowment of the See—assented to. Also the foundation of a See of S. Helena. Assented to, and resolution passed in favour. Also subject of three Missionary Bishops for Africa [1]—agreed to the importance,—discussed the subject — promise to send a copy of the Lord Chancellor and Phillimore's opinion on the law of the case."

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[1] The Bishop had for some time past been taking counsel in this matter with the Bishop of Oxford and others. He wrote (April 5th, 1856) to Bishop Wilberforce: "Will you tell me—

Then follows a succession of discussions, meetings, and services, both in and out of London in every direction;—sometimes, as at Sherborne on March 28th, three services and sermons without time to unrobe between,—and then sleepless nights following.

"*March* 31*st*, Oxford, preached one of the Lent Sermons on the penitent thief.

"*April* 2*nd*, Preached at S. Barnabas, Pimlico; crowded Church, service very nice and simple—preached at S. Anne's, Soho, in the evening.

"*April* 3*rd*, Interview with Lord Stanley at Colonial Office about S. Helena Bishopric.

"18*th*, Newbury . . . great religious excitement in the town just now in consequence of the zeal of Mr. Randall and his Curates coming after years of worldliness and lethargy. . . .

"22*nd*, Wantage — great progress here during the last five years—penitentiary built—church beautifully restored, daily choral services, grammar school built, training institutions. . . .

"26*th*, Peasmore to meet Bishop of Oxford, long talk about Missionary Bishops, Kafir College and Metropolitical jurisdiction. . . .

"*May* 7*th*, Meeting of Bishops at Council room of House of Lords to discuss the question of Missionary Bishops for Africa—full attendance—discussion not unsatisfactory. . . .

"I. Would it be an infringement of my oath to the Archbishop if we, as a Province, consecrate a Missionary Bishop ourselves?

"II. Or of any Canon of the Church?

"III. Or of any law to which the Church of England may be supposed to have given her consent?

"IV. Has the Church at home now the power of consecrating a Bishop for other than British possessions?

"V. What is to be done if she is bound by Acts which Parliament has declined to repeal, and I by the Canons of the Church? Is Africa to remain unevangelised? . . . Will you give me your counsels, and get an opinion from R. Phillimore and others on the case?"

"*8th,* With S. Oxon to talk over Natal troubles—interrupted by Archdeacon Randall, who came about the Church Rate Bill. . . .

"14*th,* Having talked all yesterday from 10 A.M. to 11 at night, hardly slept at all, pure excitement of brain,—off to London to S. James' Hall—S. P. G. Anniversary meeting;—about 3,000 present—Bishops of London and Calcutta, Rajah of Sarawak. . . . Bishop of Oxford made a great oration about Africa. I brought forward my four objects:—

I. Hottentot Missions.
II. Bishopric of S. Helena.
III. Kafir College.
IV. Missionary Bishops. . . .

"15*th,* Court—on Queen's Birthday with Bishop of Oxford. Went with the Bishops to present address in the Queen's Chamber. Archbishop addressed her in a very nice and paternal way—she replied simply and nicely. Met the Bishops at three for our adjourned discussion on the Missionary Bishopric question. All the newly made Low Church Bishops were there to support the Bishop of Winchester in opposition. Spoke my mind freely—deeply grieved to be compelled to leave in the midst of a most interesting discussion—had I not done so I must have travelled all night far into the Sunday morning, and perhaps been unfit for service in the great Church at Yarmouth. Just in time to catch the train, and got to Yarmouth at 10 P.M.

"16*th,* Preached twice in the great Church to upwards of 2,000 people; in the afternoon to the Beach Chapel, built for the sailors, which is crowded by them in their jerseys every Sunday, for three services. A good work going on among them and throughout the parish under Hills.

"17*th,* To address, as I have done, the same people four times on the same subject is overdoing matters, especially for myself, who have had to rack my brains not to repeat myself, being very dull and low all day; eyes troubling me much.

"22*nd,* S. P. G. to hear the results of the Bishops' meeting about Missionary Bishops. Came to no conclusion. Lord

Shaftesbury's Bishops all met to oppose, Archbishop and Bishop of Winchester also. Must consider the next step to be taken. . . .

"*Whitsun Day*, Preached in Westminster Abbey; a great congregation. Dislike such posts for myself. . . .

"*May* 28*th*, Drew up document about S. Helena and S. P. G. treatment of Colonial Bishops. Cape letters—anxious ones from Natal;—fatal differences between Clergy and Bishop. . . .

"29*th*, With Twiss to discuss Jurisdiction of Metropolitans and Provincial Synods—did not make much progress."

Then to Bath, Bristol, Bedminster, Radley, Cuddesden (the Theological College Anniversary), Oxford, Westbury, Stapleton, Stinchcombe, where the Bishop rejoiced to meet Mr. Isaac Williams, etc.; until at last, during a sermon, he became so ill from exhaustion that he had to go out, and, as he says, "lie down upon a grave, returning, however, to finish my sermon with some difficulty." This was a few days after receiving harassing letters from Natal, reporting the Dean and Canon Jenkin's presentment of the Bishop of that Diocese for teaching false doctrine.[1]

A fresh round began, and in spite of often feeling "quite unequal to talk with people," the Bishop continued preaching three times in one day, and exerting himself in every way. The complication and variety of subjects pressing upon him were extremely exhausting, and the responsibility trying, in spite of the sympathy and valuable counsel he met with.

"*June* 14*th*.—Dined with R. Palmer,[2] with whom I desired to take counsel on some nice legal points. Lord and Lady R.

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[1] This was on the subject of the Eucharist, which was referred to the Metropolitan, both by the Bishop of Natal and the Clergy. The Metropolitan "thought that the Bishop's language, however unguarded and unsatisfactory, was capable of being construed consistently with the formularies of the Church, and said so, while regretting greatly that he had spoken as he had done. My object throughout," he says, "was to support the Bishop where and so far as I fairly could; to allay the heats that had arisen; to restore harmony and maintain order, and secure the obedience which was due. In my efforts to accomplish this, I know that I made the hearts of faithful men sad; for those who thought they were contending for great principles which were endangered, felt discouraged, and even aggrieved."

[2] Lord Selborne.

Cecil, A. Gordon, etc. there. Very much struck with the great ability with which Palmer spoke upon the points of law. . . .

"17*th.*—Went to Bradfield. Very much struck with the progress here since I was last in England. Stevens has gone on in a quiet way, without sounding a trumpet before him, and the result is the gradual upgrowth of a great and very striking institution. . . . Held a meeting for my Diocese in the dining-hall, which was filled with the lads, villagers, and surrounding Clergy. Addressed the lads on the subject of Missions, and about becoming Missionaries. Had a little talk with Bishop Armstrong's boys, of whom I hear a good account; a blessing, I trust, rests upon them.

"24*th,* S. P. G. to discuss the motion of which I had given notice respecting the alterations in the Society's Rules, and the way in which those alterations have affected the Society's relations with the Bishops of the Colonial Church. My letter was read and discussed. The Bishops of Oxford, Llandaff, and Lincoln, supported me. . . . It was admitted on all hands that the alterations, which have wholly changed the aspect of the Society and destroyed its distinctive character, have been made with a view to obtaining greater popularity with the country. Several of the committee expressed themselves strongly on this point, some regretting it, others approving it as necessary to advance their interest. The Bishop of Oxford and I warned the Society against the course they were pursuing, and I told them very plainly that they would bring on a disruption, that very many of their old friends were ready to abandon them, that I could not act with them if a change did not take place, and had seriously considered whether I could continue to act as one of their vice-presidents. I am not satisfied with the day's proceedings, though I trust it will have given some check to downward tendencies."

A visit to S. Augustine's, Canterbury, was specially interesting to the Bishop, and he partly engaged two students from thence. It is remarkable too, and probably an indication of the confidence with which his vigorous straightforward character inspired people, how numerous the applications to serve under him became; more numerous, in fact, than the Bishop's means, though scarcely perhaps his needs, allowed him to accept. Meanwhile he went on unflagging, with the one object at heart:—

"*July* 6*th,* Had a satisfactory interview with Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial Office about Provincial Synods and Missionary Bishops, he entering very heartily into the subject. . . .

"10*th,* Preached in Lichfield Cathedral in the morning, at Mr. Bayham's church in the afternoon. Mr. Pye drove over to take me to his church, and literally galloped with me eleven miles to be in time for evening service, I having been rather long! . . . Glad to make acquaintance with the daughter and son-in-law of my dear friend the Bishop of Oxford." Thence he "rushed" to Stratford-on-Avon, etc., saying pathetically, "Each thing I am called to do is but a little thing, but I feel it all a burden. My life is a continual *go.* There is no cessation from talk,[1] no freedom from the restraints of society, no quiet or repose. I cannot even get an hour to sit alone in my room and write. The exertion of seeing fresh people every day, and keeping up conversation with them, they fresh and you weary, is very great. And then everybody thinks it necessary to invite a party to meet you! and all keep you up late at night, and after all it is difficult to sleep. My head is worn and aching, and my spirit exhausted! . . My own motto, "Faint, yet pursuing," comes home to me more than ever.

"*July* 22*nd,* To John Sharp at Horbury—went to the Penitentiary, just begun, spoke to the penitents in the chapel. Went to school; children presented me with about twelve shillings which they had collected that day. Preached at evening service for an hour, then a very crowded meeting; spoke for an hour and a quarter. . . .

"26*th,* To York, Knaresbro', Escrick, Kirkham, Fleetwood,

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[1] Writing to his sister, July 17th, 1858, the Bishop speaks of the claims upon "every moment that I can snatch from that horrid and unceasing talk which is the bane of my peace. . . . I am very, very weary, and sigh for solitude and quiet. . . . My bedroom, when I can get to it and write, is a comfort to me, but I am obliged to be with the folks, and talk, talk, talk, till the whole heart is sick!"

Warrington, Lincoln, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Market Harbro', Nottingham, East Retford, Worksop; and so on, *ad infinitum!*

"*August 9th,* Wrote to the Bishop of Natal, deploring the result of his conference, and urging him to retrace the false steps that he and the Laity have taken, and assert for his presbyters their due rights."[1] A visit to Mr. Massingberd was refreshing in the sense of congenial society and useful discussion: then followed Peterborough, with sermons in the Cathedral; and then (August 16th) the Bishop joined his wife at Redcar, where he was much touched at finding numbers of his old Stockton parishioners, who had come to meet him and enjoy one more look at him. It was a real rest to be with his family for a day or two at Grinkle, and not on a continued stretch, and it was a pleasure to show Durham, the Cathedral, Castle, etc., to his children, and to meet familiar faces on all sides. But this was a brief rest, and the Bishop was off again for Newcastle, Darlington, Alnwick, Worcester, and various other places, among which he visited Tidenham with tender thoughts of Bishop Armstrong, whose battle with the weary outer world had been so much sooner ended than his own. A round by Bristol, Salisbury, and Portsmouth, brought him to Lavington, where it is quite a rest to find him getting a quiet Sunday with his dear friend the Bishop of Oxford, and hearing sermons from Archdeacon Randall and Bishop Wilberforce instead of preaching.

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[1] One of the points on which the Bishop of Natal was at war with his Clergy was the formation of his Church Council. The body which he had agreed should be formed for laying down rules for the government of the Church in Natal, was to consist of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity. The two last were to vote together as one body, but the Laity were always to exceed the Clergy in number. About half the Clergy refused to sit in such an assembly, and the Metropolitan thought they were right in declining. In 1855 the Bishop wrote to Bishop Wilberforce: "The Bishop of Natal's work is advancing, but he is a bold man. I hear that he has inserted another question into the Baptismal Service for adults." And in 1856: "He has got into hot water. He has made great mistakes. Instead of taking his stand upon the Church's written law, the only ground upon which a Colonial Bishop, who has nothing but the moral weight of his position to support him, can stand, he has made changes in the Liturgy, *e.g.* omission of Psalms, Lessons, Litany, and introduction of a new Offertory, and Prayer for evening service; and then calls upon people to receive the Offertory because the rubric directs it. I have advised him to abandon his changes, which he had no right to introduce, and fall back upon the *lex scripta*. His troubles will not, I hope, last long. His fine, generous, manly, loving spirit will ere long triumph over all difficulties."

"I find him (Bishop of Oxford) much distressed about the state of the Church and the way that things are going. He, however, takes a more than usually gloomy view, I think, in consequence of the agitation going on upon the subject of confession, and the lies and slander circulated by the press concerning himself."

In September the Bishop went into Derbyshire, to Tenby, Ilam, Ludlow, S. David's (where his comment was that the Cathedral must either soon be restored or cease to be one!), Carmarthen, Llandaff, Ilfracombe, Barnstaple, etc. etc. Amid all this wearying round came his forty-ninth birthday, and with it his wonted self-questioning as to how much his work was the result of a merely natural activity and energy, how much it was genuinely and wholly for God — this while contemplating forty-three sermons and meetings for the month of October alone! Cornwall had to be visited, and Devonshire and Somerset; never a day with a moment to himself, and the penalty paid at night, until one cannot help wondering how even his brain stood the continual tension. Take his Exeter day as an example:—

"*October* 17*th*, Having a violent cold and hoarseness, I felt but little equal to three services to-day, but, with an effort, got through them in a croaking manner, and preached to large congregations—in the morning, at S. Stephens; afternoon, at Heavitree, where the beautiful church was full from end to end; evening, at S. Sidwell's, where the church was crammed with a devout congregation, and where Mr. Galton received me most affectionately."

Gloucester, Ross, and Ledbury, came next, and while preaching in Sir Frederick Ouseley's church at Tenbury the Bishop had to stop and leave the church, in spite of which he attended a meeting and spoke for more than an hour. And so it went on, day after day, till sometimes he was too much exhausted even to talk to the old friends who continually came across his path. So long as he could get the work done, and interest people, and collect funds for his Diocese, what cared he for the cost to himself? It almost makes one smile sorrowfully to find him rejoicing in a quiet (!!) day, spent in travelling, amid many delays, to Cambridge, and refreshing himself with reading and writing at the stations where he was kept waiting. There he was the guest of the Master of Clare Hall, and that evening delivered a lecture on Missions in the Town Hall, at which some 150 undergraduates were present.

On the 31st October he preached twice, in the evening in the University pulpit, to crowded congregations, and, as he says, "could not refrain from going largely into his work." It was on this occasion that he started the idea of his University Mission, at a public meeting held November 1st. "I proposed the formation of a Committee for establishing a Mission along the Zambesi, and offered to co-operate, urging that the Church should do at least as much as the Independents, who have already raised £7,000, and sent forth six Missionaries. Proposed that Cambridge should take the lead in this matter, and send forth six men, presenting one to the African Bishops for consecration. . . . Livingstone made a great impression at Cambridge, and left this work to the special charge of the University—this was my reason for urging it." After visiting Ely (the restored Cathedral of which delighted him), he attended a large meeting, and discussed the question of the S. Helena Bishopric with Mr. Piers Claughton (the first Bishop of S. Helena); went to Godmanchester to visit his brother Charles' grave and memorial window; and, November 4th, got to his temporary home at Bayswater, thankful to enjoy the freedom of home, if but for a few hours.

One of the most important matters awaiting the Bishop in London was an interview with Lord Carnarvon, who told him that no difficulty would be thrown by Government in the way of his Provincial Synod, and that, although the law-officers of the Crown held it to be doubtful whether an English Bishop can legally consecrate another Bishop for a country other than Her Majesty's dominions, no opposition would be offered to his taking such a step, only such Bishops would not be able to perform *legal* acts of an Episcopal nature within the Queen's dominions. "This is all one wants," the Bishop says. "How the world will laugh at these absurd restrictions in the next generation!"

The rest at home was but brief. On November 6th the Bishop started again on a mission tour, taking in Bridport, Lynn Regis, Charmouth, Axminster, Maiden Newton, Rampisham, etc. etc. This part of the country had especial interest for him, looking back to the time when his father found a rest for his last days on the Dorset coast; when the now toil-worn Metropolitan of Africa—then a young Deacon, devoted to literature, and not looking beyond the cares of a rural parish—used to walk over its cliffs and explore its parish churches. "I walked down to the port," he says, "and remembered every feature of the coast. . . . I find that in these parts," he also observes, "the Church is gradually rising, and absorbing dissent. The Clergy are a nice set of men—much church-restoration going on. The character and exertions of the present and of the late Bishop are producing an effect on the Diocese." The Bishop of Salisbury came over to Beaminster to help him, and he was more than usually warmed and cheered by the sympathy shown by large gatherings of people in the neighbourhood of Bournemouth. Christ Church, Lyndhurst, and Rownhams followed, the latter place being held by his old friend Mr. Charles Harris, afterwards Bishop of Gibraltar. Then came Winchester, where, the Warden having been suddenly called away, "the good old Dean kindly took me in. I found him, at eighty-four, hardly less vigorous than five years ago. He had large parties to dinner and luncheon to meet us. S. Oxon came down to help me, far from well. We had a great meeting, and he made one of his great speeches."

The two Bishops and Mr. Charles Harris went on together to Salisbury, where "the Bishop of Salisbury was ready to receive us with his usual warmth and affection." The Bishop of Oxford was too ill to fulfil his preaching engagements on this occasion, but his African brother preached three times on Sunday, November 21st, and all joined in a large meeting at Wilton the next day, when Mr. Sidney Herbert "made an excellent speech, denouncing neutrality in India." From Andover (where the Bishop's late Principal, Mr. White, was now) he went to pay a visit peculiarly interesting to him—to the revered author of the *Christian Year.* "Mr. Keble was at the door in the midst of the rain to greet us" (he writes, November 25th). "I had much interesting conversation with him about the Scotch Church, now torn with its ecclesiastical contentions; and about confession, and Missionary Bishops *in partibus infidelium,* and the principles to guide one in the future expansion of the African Church."

This visit was unfortunately curtailed, for the next day, "just as we were sitting down to breakfast, the post brought me a letter to say that Sir E. Lytton could not see me at 3 o'clock as arranged, there being a Cabinet Council at that hour, and that he would be glad if I could be at the Colonial Office at 2 P.M. So we had to make a rush to catch an earlier train, and leave our breakfast. We were just in time at Winchester. I saw Sir E. Lytton, and had much talk with him about Sir G. Grey, the Kafir College, and Missionary Bishops. Saw the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, in which they admit that there is no legal difficulty in the way of our consecrating Bishops beyond British territory, and a letter from the Archbishop saying he saw no objection to our doing so, if we wished. I told Sir Edward that I should not be satisfied unless I could consecrate in my own Cathedral, and that I believed there was no legal impediment. He invited me to raise the further question, and promised to submit it to the law officers. Went from there to Addington, to obtain the Archbishop's approbation of the nomination of Piers Claughton to the S. Helena Bishopric. He gave his ready assent." On November 28th, after engaging a master for Swellendam Grammar School, the Bishop started for Leeds, quite enjoying the quiet of a six hours' railway journey! While making a tour of meetings, etc., the Bishop and Mrs. Gray were suddenly summoned to the deathbed of Mrs. Myddleton (Mrs. Gray's mother); but before their arrival she was dead.[1] The remainder of the year was spent in going from place to place, without being marked by any very special event, except that the Bishop preached in his old parish of Stockton, spending Christmas Day at Whitburn, where the aged incumbent, Mr. Baker, had become Rector in the year of the Bishop's birth! and then visiting his old friends at Bishopwearmouth, his own birthplace, where he was much struck with the great new docks and general improvements, but grieved to find the old rectory, where his father lived so long, pulled down, and a new red brick rectory built at a distance from the church. There was a large meeting, and he alluded to Bishopwearmouth being his own birthplace—the scene of his father's and his cousin Robert Gray's labours, and the birthplace of Bishop Armstrong, and touched the hearts of his listeners.

The year closed at Boston, where the Bishop preached. "Thus ends the year," he says: "I am thankful to finish it with doing God's work, what, I believe, He would have me be doing at this time; but I shall be very thankful when I can return to my own proper work, which is suffering from my absence."

The greater part of the following year, 1859, was spent in the same wearisome toil—rushing about from place to place, gathering in funds for and pleading the cause of South Africa and her population, alternating with tedious Government correspondence concerning the various points the Bishop felt most important, and seeing and engaging men for African work—Clergy and Catechists. His correspondence in England and with the Cape was in itself an occupation for one man's time. The question of Missionary Bishops had to be fought hard, and some of those from whom Bishop Gray might have looked for help, hindered him. Thus he writes: "February 4th, 1859, Meeting of Colonial Bishops' Council—full attendance; Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) very vehement against Missionary Bishops; says it is unscriptural, and contrary to the practice of the

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[1] "The lamp died out; there was no pain; a perfect consciousness that she was going, a willingness to go, and, I trust, preparation for the great change."—Witney, December 4th, 1858.

Church to begin new Missions with Bishops at the head of them." . . .

"*February* 10*th*, Had a long discussion at 79, Pall Mall—Bishop of Exeter in the chair. Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, Llandaff, S. Asaph, Oxford; Archdeacon Grant, Dr. Wordsworth, and many others, friends and foes, there. Bishop of Salisbury and Wordsworth spoke most warmly and affectionately of the effect produced by my visits on men's minds with respect to Missions. . . .

"*February* 19*th*, Ashton-under-Lyne. Some nice letters from people who were at last night's meeting, serving to show, I think, that many laity stand aloof from Mission works, because they have no faith in the accounts given, and believe the thing a sham." A long and arduous campaign in the Midland Counties, Liverpool, Manchester, etc., nearly knocked the Bishop up before he got to the North, where his former parish, Whitworth, and the neighbourhood, received him warmly, and he stayed with the Bishop of Durham (his old friend and Diocesan, Dr. Maltby, had gone to his rest), feeling much impressed with the lifelessness of the Church in his old Cathedral town. There were secular changes throughout the familiar country for the better, but not a corresponding advance in higher things.

April 11th, the Bishop visited East Grinstead, "to have a morning with Dr. Neale of Sackville College; went over his Sisterhood . . . had much talk with him about a Liturgy for Congregations newly formed out of the heathen, which he has undertaken to prepare for me; about the Jurisdiction of Metropolitans, upon which he is going to furnish me with information; and the mode of conducting Missions in the Church under Bishops." These three subjects were, as we have seen, occupying Bishop Gray's mind largely at this time, and his Journal is full of allusions to discussions concerning them with all he met who were capable of helping him, especially the Bishop of Oxford, Sir R. Phillimore, etc. May 17th, he was at Oxford, eager about a great meeting on behalf of the Central African Mission, then being founded by the Universities, which cheered and encouraged him much,[1] and counterbalanced the disheartening of having to fight hard battles for the independence of Colonial Bishops among his old friends of S. P. G. A London Committee was formed to act with Oxford and Cambridge, and the Bishop also took the chair at a meeting at Sir Walter James' (May 25th) to form a Missionary Union intended to bear the name of S. Augustine, and to be a brotherhood or confraternity for the purpose of promoting Missions, of united prayer, and of seeking out fit workers. Another visit to Hursley refreshed the weary Bishop, though there too he could not but talk over the absorbing interest of his work; but two quiet evenings and a long walk with Mr. Keble, made a sort of oasis in the desert of discussion and strife. A visit to Jersey, and a western round, brought the Bishop to June 14th, when he assisted at the consecration of the Bishops of Bangor, S. Helena, and Brisbane (Mr. Piers Claughton and Mr. Tufnell the two last). "Claughton of Kidderminster[2] preached an excellent sermon; the Bishops of London and Llandaff presented; the oaths were correctly taken to Canterbury, Sydney, and Cape Town, and all was well except as regards the laying on of hands, which was done in a very slovenly manner by the Archbishop—saying the words only once! However three Bishops, at least, laid their hands on the head of each Bishop. Thankful I am to God for the completion of this work, by which a third Suffragan has been added to my Province, and myself relieved from duties I could not properly discharge; while the congregations of South Africa will enjoy the privilege of the complete ministrations of the Church. For this I have had to provide £5,000. After service went to the Colonial Office about the income of the See of S. Helena."

The Cuddesden Festival, Convocation, and S. P. G., brought the Bishop to S. Peter's Day—the twelfth anniversary of his consecration—and the short time remaining to him in England was crowded with work of the usual nature, amid which he found time to go to Germany to confer with the Rhenish Missionary Society, with a view to union between them and the English Church in South Africa. The Bishop had some interesting discussions at Elberfeld with the various authorities there and of the College of Barmen, but nothing definite came of them. It was evident, the Bishop says, that these Lutherans had lost all idea of the duty of Unity, or of the Visible Church, and they were afraid of the English Church, which was too Catholic for them. He left them with a cordial spirit on both sides, telling them that, though he could not himself again take any steps towards union, he should at all times be glad to promote it. Returning by Cologne, Strasburg, and Paris (the Bishop was accompanied by Mrs. Gray, his son, and Dr. Ross), he worked at S. P. G., at sermons and meetings, to the very last moment; during which time he heard that it was the intention of the Bishop of Natal to resign his See, a subject on which Dr. Colenso wrote fully, and which opened new cares and anxieties. A last important meeting in Pall Mall occurred on August 4th concerning this matter, and the proposal of the Bishop of Natal to go to the Mission of Panda, in which Bishop Gray urged that, should he carry out this intention, the Society should pledge itself to give £800 a year, and building funds for the Mission. Important interviews with the Archbishop and Duke of Newcastle concerning a successor took place; and then a series of farewells, among which was a very touching leave-taking between the Bishops of Oxford and Cape Town, who had breakfasted together; and the two friends who had shared, and were yet to share, so many burdens on behalf of the Church their Mother, and who entered into their rest within so short a time of one another, knelt in prayer together, and for each other, before separating.

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[1] Writing to his son, the Bishop says: "Did you see in the *Guardian* the very important Oxford meeting about a Mission to the Zambesi, with a Bishop at its head? This united effort of the two Universities is the most cheering thing that has happened since I have been in England."

[2] Now Bishop of Rochester.

Just before starting, August 4th, 1859, the Bishop wrote to the Bishop of Oxford: "Everything is now done that it was in my power to do, and I leave in peace, commending all to God, and praying that He will order and dispose events as shall be most to His Glory and the advancement of His

Kingdom. If I have urged anything that will not advance His Glory, may He defeat it. And now, my very dear Brother and most kind friend, may our Heavenly Father ever be with you, and help and keep and bless and sanctify you.—Ever affectionately yours, R. CAPETOWN."

On the 5th August the Bishop and his party embarked at Southampton, and sailed once more for his adopted country and its toils.

CHAPTER VII.

AUGUST, 1859, TO NOVEMBER, 1863.

RETURN TO CAPE TOWN—LETTERS TO HIS SON—DEBATING CLUB—WORK IN AFRICA—PURCHASE OF ESTATE FOR KAFIR INSTITUTION—VISITATION OF CLANWILLIAM, ETC.—PASTORAL LETTER—ADVICE AS TO READING AT COLLEGE—BOATING—CALEDON—OBSERVATION OF SUNDAY—PRINCE ALFRED—DR. LIVINGSTONE—ARCHDEACON MACKENZIE—CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSION—QUESTION OF MISSIONARY BISHOPS—ARRIVAL OF THE ZAMBESI PARTY AT BISHOP'S COURT—CONSECRATION OF BISHOP MACKENZIE—CHARGE—BISHOPS' CONFERENCE—SYNOD—LONG CASE—ORIGINAL POSITION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF CAPE TOWN—FRESH LETTERS PATENT—CITATION OF MR. LONG—SUSPENSION—DEPRIVATION—APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT—PROCEEDINGS—BISHOP'S SPEECH—COUNSEL'S SPEECH—PRIVATE LETTERS—CASE ON AGAIN BEFORE SUPREME COURT—BISHOP'S SPEECH—JUDGMENT OF THE SUPREME COURT—APPEAL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL—BISHOP'S RETURN TO ENGLAND—JUDGMENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—BISHOP RETURNS TO CAPE TOWN—LETTER TO THE CHURCHWARDENS OF MOWBRAY—LETTERS TO EDWARD GRAY, ESQ., DR. WILLIAMSON, ETC.—LETTER FROM MR. KEBLE—LETTER FROM BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

THE partings from England and home ties, though no longer new, were not painless, but the Bishop had one only aim before him, and nothing was allowed to interfere with that—his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of Christ and His Church in South Africa. His first letter to his son gives just a glimpse into the inner mind with which he left all that was so precious to him.

To CHARLES N. GRAY, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, September 17th, 1859.

"My dearest boy . . . . We looked at you as long as we could see you on the pier, Flossy making me hold her up. I thought that we might never meet again below. If we do, it will be when the trials and temptations of the life upon which you are just entering will have been passed through, and you will, I trust, have made up your mind to serve Christ earnestly and faithfully in the ministry of His Church. I never omit to pray for you morning and evening, privately and in chapel, that God may give you a double measure of His Spirit to keep you from the Evil One. . . I shall be very glad to hear that you are well settled at College, and like it. I am always glad to find you taking an interest in many things, as bird-stuffing, mechanics, etc. But do not let them draw you off from duty work."[1]

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, September 14th, 1859.

"My dearest Annie—I write while I have time to let you know that, by the mercy and goodness of God, we have arrived once more at our home, and had a happy meeting with dearest Louisa, who was waiting for us in Cape Town, and with many other kind friends. We had a very fair passage in a not very comfortable ship. . . . We loathe the sea more and more. It was a great disappointment to find that the Greys had left. His recall has caused great excitement and commotion throughout the country. Addresses have been pouring in from all quarters, and are not yet over. Petitions to the Queen; censures upon Lord Derby; 20,000 people drew themselves up from Government House to the wharf, forming a street, through which he passed to the ship. He was quite overcome for the last few days, and could not speak his replies from emotion. I knew before I left (under instructions to be silent until I was at sea) that the Duke of Newcastle had asked him to remain. I fear, however, it is more than doubtful if he will come back. I find everything in the Diocese going on wonderfully well, and great progress made. . . . Lightfoot's Mission work among the Mahometans and heathen in Cape Town is going on very well; his congregation quite fills his hired room; the churches at Greenpoint and Papendorf, both parts of the Dean's parish, are rising up. S. John's church is quite full, and the congregation has just given the last £200 needed for completing it. When finished, —— means to tell them that he will not take any money except what the congregation choose to give him. . . . The Cathedral alterations are nearly completed, and a chancel is being added to ——'s church—all this in Cape Town alone. The Kafir College is going on very well. . . . I have been this morning with them, and have been much pleased with their progress. . . . The boys now correspond both in Kafir and English with their parents in Kaffraria. . . . At present we have but three girls; Miss Ainger is to have them under her charge. Belson's Chapel at Malmesbury is completed, and is to be opened next Sunday. Our nave at Claremont is now used, and the church is already nearly full. I find that I am still in want of good schoolmasters and catechists . . . there is no limit to the demand. Louisa seems very happy, and takes her share in the work of the College and feels an interest in it. I have had a very nice and affectionate address from the Clergy of this Deanery, a copy of which I shall send to Hawkins, as it shows the state of things in the Diocese. I feel very thankful to God for His Goodness to us. Now that we are back again, I feel that I have seen very little of you all, but I believe if I were to return I should still be at my old work. There is so much to be done everywhere, and so little time to do it in, and such small means, that I feel guilty if idle for a single day."

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[1] While in England, the Bishop wrote concerning a projected debating club at Bradfield to his son as follows :—"I quite approve of the two plans of which you speak. With most people, nothing but practice, begun at an early period, enables men to speak and think in public. The danger of a debating society in a school appears to me to be that it has a tendency to set young men up, to make them conceited and forward in expressing very shallow opinions. The set-down, however, which each will in turn get, may serve to rectify this. In your own case, I hope that you will not think it necessary to be always on your legs, and that you will not speak without having both read and *thought* previously on the subject. If you want to get any good, you must guard against being either superficial or forward. . . . I was much amused at your first efforts being directed towards coercing the juniors into becoming an audience! You must have more regard for the liberty of the subject!! They would have served you right if they had hissed or coughed you all down, if you had carried your motion. I doubt whether you have sufficient literary ability amongst you to carry on a quarterly publication, but I shall be glad to see the effort made. Only do not write or speak merely for the sake of writing or speaking. Have something first to say, and then say it as well as you can. You must not sacrifice reality for anything."

One can hardly suppose that the opportunity for such a sensation ever had time to occur! Certainly on the present occasion the Bishop made so immediate and energetic a start to visit part of his Diocese, that he says himself his things were not half unpacked, and even his boots had not arrived.

"October 17th, 1859.—I have had great difficulty about horses, which, like all other things, are very dear. I have, however, bought three, and a cart. We mean to ride ten days. Two, I believe, are not riding horses, and the only real riding horse, which we do not suppose has ever carried a lady, Sophy is to mount. We have been breaking the team in to-day, with my old man leading, whom I dragged away from building the Government Museum. The leader would not start. I don't think they had ever been in harness before, but I went in with all four to call upon the Lieutenant-Governor, who came down yesterday. To-day I have agreed, after anxious consideration and hopeless inquiries in all directions, to purchase an estate near Cape Town for my Kafir Institute for £6,000. It is wonderfully adapted for the purpose, and with buildings capable of holding 100 children. We thought it providentially prepared for us when we went over it. I mortgage it for £3,000, and have written to both Hawkins and Sir G. Grey about it. The work has been very heavy since our return. Dearest Sophy has been worked even harder than I have. We have not had a moment for anything. You must give our love to all. We have no time for writing."

By the same mail the Bishop wrote to his son: "The pressure of all kinds of work is very great. We have had enough to distract a dozen minds since I landed. . . . I have to-day agreed to buy a very expensive place for our Kafir Institution, and I am not sure that it will not drag me into difficulties, but I have thought it right to take the step. You will not recollect the place;—it is Zonnebloem, just under the mountain on this side of Cape Town, overlooking the Bay. We go to-morrow to Stellenbosch, and so by Paarl, Worcester, and Tulbagh, to Clanwilliam. Then we ride for about ten days over the sands of Clanwilliam, Saldanha and S. Helena Bays, by Malmesbury, home. I hope to be back in time to receive the Bishop of S. Helena. I shall be glad to receive your first impressions of Oxford."

To Charles N. Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, November 18th, 1859.

"My dearest boy—As your mother is writing to you, she will give you a much more graphic account of our late journey to Clanwilliam than I can do; therefore I shall be brief. We had some rough and some hot work, and a good deal of trouble with our horses. At S. Helena Bay we nearly stuck, for all our four horses, and Mr. Belson's also, were laid up with sore backs, or were lame, and the Boers would not let us have a cart for love or money. One of the horses, as yet unaccustomed to the saddle, greatly resented my intrusion on his back, thinking so great a weight an intolerable burden. He would not budge an inch, but backed and backed, and then deliberately threw himself on the ground with his fore-feet stretched out, and rolled me quietly over! I have had a satisfactory journey as far as work is concerned. . . . I have not yet heard from Dr. Livingstone, but he has been heard of lately, and is now exploring a new part of the country. A steamer has gone up to carry him provisions, etc. I shall be very anxious to hear how you are getting on at Oxford, and how you like it. Pray, my dear boy, work steadily, keep out of debt, keep yourself pure, and pray fervently. I hope that you will feel that your character for life—probably for an endless life—will be fixed at College; that each day is fixing it, and that you will live accordingly. I am very anxious about you, and pray four times a day for you. I told you that you would soon take to boating. It is a very fascinating amusement. You must judge for yourself whether you are fit to enter a racing crew. One or two of my friends ruined their health by over-exertion in this way. Aggy and Blanche will, I hope, be confirmed in about a fortnight. . . . Louisa and Glover are delighted with the property which I have bought for the Kafir Institution.[1] It certainly is the very thing which we wanted, and the best place for the purpose in the country."

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[1] In a letter, dated December 20th, 1859, Mrs. Glover says: "We move in a fortnight. . . . The boys do not like the idea at all, they are so very fond of this place (Bishop's Court). Zonnebloem, however, is a delightful place—such a lovely view of mountains all round, and the town and bay lying at our feet. We shall also look down upon the railway when it is finished, and see all the ships coming in. . . . We hope in time to have a church built close to us."

The Bishop was sorry to part with his Kafir children when the time for moving came. "They have been good lads," he says, "and are far more like English lads than the European boys of the Colony;—more life and energy and fun and spirit."

The end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860 were occupied with Ordinations, Confirmations, etc., and the Bishop's thoughts were very much engrossed with watching the result of a Pastoral issued by him concerning the better maintenance of the Clergy. He was pleased with the practical results, though, as he said, the people discussed it very freely. Dr. Livingstone's exertions were another important interest. "We have lately heard from Dr. Livingstone" (he writes, January 14th, 1860): "He speaks very warmly of the country in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyassa, and urges the Church to take up the work. He has not received my letters. They were all swamped. . . . Our Mission will, I think, need a small steamer. It may serve both for these objects and for the purposes of commerce, but it must be a better one than poor Livingstone's, which is a miserable failure. Our chief difficulty about that part of the country is the fact that nearly the whole coast belongs to the Portuguese, and we have recognised their claims. There is a hope that the mouth of the Rovuma is beyond their territory, and of finding a free course up it to the newly-discovered country. . . . This unfortunate country is now trembling about the vine disease. I believe we are only suffering from an unusually wet and cold season. It is a land of judgments, however, and these surely not ill deserved. The oppression of the black man is fearful. Judge Bell, who has just returned from a three months' circuit, says that he has had many cases of sheep-stealing to try, where the farmers had engaged myriads of Kafirs who have come into this country to escape famine in their own, at a shilling a month, and a pint of mealies per diem! Can we wonder that they steal, and hate us, and are returning as fast as possible to their own country, there to repay us with future wars?"

To the Rev. the Hon. HENRY DOUGLAS.

"January 7th, 1860.

"My dear Douglas—I must write a line to tell you by this mail that I consecrated S. John's Church on S. John's Day. I inclose you an *Argus,* which gives an account of the Consecration. The founder was in all our thoughts. . . . Other works are, I trust, being blessed. Lightfoot's work in Cape Town is prospering greatly. I confirm now in every church. . . . We want a Mission Church greatly. . . . We need one or two more Missionaries in Cape Town. . . . Certainly the congregations all round are increasing. Mowbray, Rondebosch, and Claremont are all full. I confirmed forty-eight last Sunday at Claremont. Wilshere, who is there, is doing very well."

To CHARLES N. GRAY, Esq.

"Cathedral, January 18th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—I write to you while sitting waiting for my people in the vestry, because I am doubtful whether, amidst the pressure of other things, I can write to you at home. I am glad that you are beginning to feel settled at college, and trust that you may make real and valuable friends there. Your town-and-gown row will, I hope, be the first and last during your college career. If you desire to prepare for the ministry, you must keep out of these larks. It was not unnatural that the celebration of the Prince's birthday should have heated young and loyal blood. I am glad to hear that you had been to hear S. Oxon preach; his sermons will do you good if you take them to heart. . . . The Bishop of Graham's Town is now staying with us, and I am asking all the Clergy to meet him. When he goes to Graham's Town, Merriman will come up."

To the Same.

"Bishop's Court, February 10th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—I congratulate you on having got through your little-go early and well. I think that you will do quite right in reading steadily for honours. I do not recommend you to read so hard as to neglect full exercise and fair recreation—I think both these essential to a reading man. Neglected, he will probably break down, and certainly will not do as well as if he did not overtask nature. Avoid crams. Read not merely for the degree, but for development of your faculties, and the thorough mastery of your subject, whatever it be. Work quickly if you can, but work surely; you had far better be slow and sure than fast and slovenly. Think while you read. Do not be in a hurry to get through your books, especially in the first reading. If you have not mastered them when the time for going up arrives, do not be distressed if you have worked honestly. I should be very glad if you were to take honours, but I should be very sorry if you looked exclusively to these—if you did not make the laying the foundation for future usefulness in whatever situation God may see fit to place you, your chief object. If you work hard, have always some English literature for light reading at hand. Keep accounts, and pay ready money. If you don't adhere to these two things you will get into difficulties. We are, thank God, all very well, though your mother has not been strong. The Diocese has been quite stirred by a Pastoral which I addressed to it on the subject of the support of the Clergy. Prices are very high at present, and the Clergy are, I fear, in difficulties. The laity are showing a very good spirit. There is, of course, much difference of opinion, but there is, I trust, a real desire on the part of most to do their duty. We have now quite a French fleet, and perhaps 5,000 troops, in Table Bay, going on the China expedition, and Cape Town is full of them. They could take us in an hour, if they wished to do so. The Admiral and Lady Grey are with us, and we are finishing off our company before Lent, as, after Easter, I propose (D.V.) making a Visitation over the greater part of the Diocese, which will occupy between three and four months."

About this time an attack was made from some anonymous or obscure quarter upon the Hymn Book put forward by the last Diocesan Synod. Writing to Dr. Williamson on the subject (February 14th, 1860), the Bishop says: "I can only repeat Merriman's remark to me when alluding to some lies about Port Elizabeth—'It is a marvel that the devil should be so audacious!' I have long, however, felt that Evangelicals as a class are rapidly losing the moral sense, and are coming more and more under the influence of an evil spirit. They are certainly quite reckless and unscrupulous with regard to those with whom they differ, or think they differ. Our Hymn Book was adopted at the Synod, and each hymn discussed; all that were rejected were rejected by Clergy and laity; all that were adopted were adopted by both orders. I have looked over the book to see what could have given rise to the charge. I presume it is Hymn 24, which is an appeal to our Lord as Man, to aid and support and sympathise with those suffering in the flesh. The phrase, 'Son of Mary' is no more to be found fault with than 'Virgin-born,' 'Seed of the woman,' or 'Son of David.' Let those who shrink from it, see to it that they hold the Mystery of the Incarnation. . . . Mackenzie intimates that the Bishop of London will approve if he is consecrated in England, and asks my views, adding that he would then be under Canterbury, and not in this Province. I reply that I see no objection to his consecration in England; but that I protest against his separation from this Province on very many grounds. I have written a formal protest to the Archbishop. It is a very important question."

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, March 17th, 1860.

"My dearest boy . . . The torpid is the best place for you. In my day we used to take it easy. I dislike the racing boats. One fine fellow, a friend of mine, who pulled stroke, was, I believe, killed by it, and my dear friend —— has never had good health since. I see no objection to your joining the Rifle Corps if you are anxious to do so. But boats, cricket, and shooting, are all great temptations to idleness. What you do in the way of reading must be on principle—that is duty. I have confidence that you will not give up duty for amusement or dissipation. I quite sympathise with you in your feelings as to slovenly services. If ever you have a quiet talk with your tutor, let him know what your feelings are about it. The notion that these things shock young men does not perhaps enter into their minds. Nothing would be more likely to lead to improvement than the knowledge of this. The contrast to Bradfield must be very great. Remember, however, that it is no excuse for you not to pray. I am glad that you go to chapel every morning. I hope that you do not limit yourself to the minimum of attendance. You ask about my rooms: the staircase is the right hand corner of the main quad—the rooms were above the lecture room, on the left hand side, at the top of the staircase. Two windows looked into the High Street—one and the bedroom into the Fellows' Garden. They were very quiet, and I have spent many a happy and studious hour in them. . . . Next Friday your mother is going to ride with me up to Saldanha Bay. We shall probably be out just a week. There are about 700 coloured people there. They have petitioned me to buy a farm for them, and locate them upon it. I fear I shall not be able to afford this. We are quite wearied out with visitors,—since we came back we have never been alone. Archdeacon Merriman is now with us,—as fine a fellow as ever. He told me in letters that he was failing in strength and aged, etc.—I present him now in full vigour to all friends, as a decayed old gentleman! but he says that since he came down here he has leaped up like a jack-in-a-box. . . . The ———'s son is a very nice fellow — a little too much of the Kingsley school, but earnest and self-denying. What religious direction are young men running in now? Who are the leaders of opinion in the University? What sort of tutors have you got? Do they take any interest in their pupils, or see them at all in private? Remember me, when you come across them, very kindly to the Master and the President of Magdalen, whom I like, and the Provost of Oriel." . . .

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, April 16th, 1860.

"My dearest boy . . . I have no objection to your joining the Rifle Corps, but I am rather anxious lest boating, to which I anticipated you would rush, and cricketing, and rifle practice, should dissipate your mind and thoughts, and give you a distaste for more sober and thoughtful occupations. Your natural temperament inclines you to active employments and amusements, and you must, if you would not receive injury, exercise some discipline over yourself. . . . The Bishop of Oxford is working vigorously to carry out my wishes about Missionary Bishops. I think we shall get all we want done. We have heard nothing lately from Livingstone, but we have now staying with us Mr. and Mrs. Percy Thompson, who have just been travelling across from east to west, by the Lake N'Gami. They have not very much to say about the country or people. Our Mission must not be there, but about the rivers Shire and Nyassa. We are thinking of beginning to make vineyards on this property, in spite of the reduction of the wine duty. It is beautiful land for it, and I am not improving it as I ought to do. But it is costly work. We are building a school chapel at Newlands also, and one or two cottages on this property."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, April 17th, 1860.

"My dearest Annie . . . Our Kafir Institution is going on exceedingly well.[1] On Easter Day I baptized seven of the lads, all, I trust, believers, and in earnest. Others are anxious to be baptized, among the rest Sandilli's daughter, who asked Miss Ainger with much emotion if she too might not be baptized?

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[1] In a letter to Miss Cole (June 4th, 1860), the Bishop says :—"My daughter (Mrs. Glover) is very fond of her boys, and will hardly believe they have any faults. She teaches them drawing. We have an excellent young woman, a niece of Mrs. Ainger of Hampstead, for the girls, and a friend of hers is coming out to help her. So, with a carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, agriculturist, and schoolmaster, and another young man, and Mr. and Mrs. Glover, we have a pretty strong staff. All, however, have full employment, and the industrial part pays.

Miss Ainger has done the girls a great deal of good. In the hope that we shall be able to receive a larger number of them, a friend of hers, who has a private income, is coming out to aid in their education. I do trust that we shall be able to support more girls, for I am quite sure that this work will be a failure if we do not provide Christian wives for these young men. As it is, it is said that George Moshesh, who was here for a few months when I was in England, has married the daughter of the great heathen prophetess of this country. He is, according to all accounts, an exceedingly fine young man, and I hope that he is not lost to us, but he is at least in great danger. He came here too old;—he was not here long enough: and he had no chance of a suitable Christian and civilised wife. Recently I have been urged to found a Mission among Moshesh's people. I have replied that if the old chief asks me, and I can do so without interfering with the French Missionaries, I will pledge the Church of England to do so. Only yesterday I received a message from a French Missionary urging us to undertake this work, and saying that they greatly felt their want of a head; which I commend to the notice of our anti-Missionary Bishops' friends. This point, however, from all I hear, is now pretty well settled, and we are working with S. Oxon to provide safeguards against abuses and possible disruption. The necessity for bringing on these questions brings out the principles which the Church will need to guide her, when cut adrift from the State. They force minds like the Bishop of London to see that the Canons of the Universal Church, still recognised in our Courts, are the only guide to which we can look, and that they are a sufficient guide, and provide for all our wants. Now that the Colonies are likely to hold Provincial Synods, it makes it more and more necessary that there should be a National or Imperial one, to bind us all together in one Communion. I am still uncertain whether I can or ought to start in a few days on a three months Visitation. Sophy rode with me up to Saldanha Bay, about 200 miles, in a week."

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Caledon, May 15th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—Your mother and I are detained here partly by a very severe cold which I have caught, partly by threatening weather. She rode 200 miles with me last week round this parish, and we hope to complete the 300 in a day or two. I have delayed my long Visitation till the heaviest of the winter weather shall be over. . . . Your mother has stood her riding very well, and so have the horses; old Klaas goes gaily with his pack-saddle, and trots ahead and stops to eat just as it suits him. We were to have gone to Villiersdorp to-day for a Confirmation; but I have been awake the whole night, and am not up to it. We shall, I trust, be *en route* to-morrow again."

Some further account of this minor Visitation, such as the Bishop so frequently made, is given in a letter written a few days later to his sister after his return to Bishop's Court (May 19th, 1860), and the description is a complete sample of all similar expeditions:—

"We have just come off a ride of 300 miles round one parish, Caledon, and have tired our horses, though not ourselves. Sophy has borne it well, and thinks nothing of sixty miles, even on a very lazy horse. We started on Monday week, riding across the flats to Eerste River, where we have a little church and school, and I held a Confirmation. Then we went to sleep at the Cloetes at Sandvliet. Next morning we rode to Somerset (a most lovely village in a superb situation, with the sea in front, and mountains on two sides) to breakfast. There I arranged to have a service and meeting on my return about a school, chapel, and teacher. Then we rode up the mountain, and went to Palmiet River, to examine a poor school. From there to Houw Hock, where we have another school, and a small location of coloured people. In the evening we had service; the catechist and schoolmaster here is dying. From thence, by morning moonlight, we proceeded on a long day's journey of sixty miles; we crossed two sets of low mountains, and got drenched in the evening, arriving after dark at an English farmer's at the Strand. From this part of the country, I am sorry to say, the English farmers are withdrawing. Next morning we rode an hour and a half to an early service and examination of a school, which is doing good among the Dutch farmers and coloured children. Next we proceeded three hours to the Moravian Mission Station at Elim, where we passed the night, and had much talk with the brethren, one of whom had been as interpreter in the last expedition in search of Franklin. Next morning was very wet; but we started amid their remonstrances, rejecting their offer of a cart, and rode three hours to Bredasdorp, where Mr. Barry received us. In the afternoon we saw the people, and in the evening had service; I preached and also confirmed. Afterwards we had a meeting about the completion of a very pretty little chapel. Next morning we were off again by moonlight for a fifty miles' ride. After three and a half hours we got some bread and fat, and tea without milk, at a very kind Dutch farmer's; then three hours more, and a substantial dinner at a Scotch farmer's; then two hours more, a cup of tea at an Englishman's; then one and a half hour in the dark to Colonel Shaw's. The horses were a little tired, having carried us 200 miles in the week. On the following morning we drove into Caledon. Early service with Holy Communion; Confirmation in the afternoon; evening service. Being very hot with preaching, the cold drive back gave me a severe cold. On Monday we came in again; held a meeting about minister's stipend, towards which the people are to double (and do so most cheerfully) what they give. Then we had a tea meeting in the new Grammar School, not yet quite roofed in. Here I considerably added to my cold, and could not sleep all night from fever. Next day I was too unwell to proceed, which was a misfortune, as it prevented our reaching Villiersdorp, where there is a Catechist and new stone school chapel. On Wednesday we started with a view to reaching this place, though I was still far from well. But the rain came on so heavily that we saw plainly we could not hope to pass the river, in which, two days before, a horse had been drowned. Giving up the hope, therefore, and disappointing the candidates for Confirmation, we rode on twenty miles in the rain to Houw Hock, and then, after taking a mouthful, and praying with the dying Catechist, twenty-five miles more to Somerset, where we spent the next day. In the evening we had service in the court-house, and then our meeting. The people are poor; but entered heartily into my plan, and we are to have a school chapel and a Catechist schoolmaster immediately. Next morning we breakfasted again with the Cloetes, and rode home thirty miles by three o'clock, and found, God be praised, all well at home."

There was an interval of comparative rest during the next two or three months (though, indeed, Bishop Gray's rest would have been hard work to many men), and he found time to write some valuable letters to his son, then an undergraduate.

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, June 16th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—I am very glad that you write to me freely and fully, and conceal nothing from me, treating me as a friend and consulting with me. . . . Pictures should not be bought if they cannot be paid for. I do not remember that I ever bought a picture in Oxford, during my four years—the first year is in some respects an expensive one, but if habits of self-indulgence are not checked, you will find the longer you are at college the more your expenses will grow. The root of the matter is in yourself, not in external or accidental circumstances. Self-restraint alone will help you. . . . There is really nothing in boating or training which need draw a man off from hard study; there may be in the not unusual accompaniments of an idle life, suppers, etc. I hope you stand up for the right against the wrong, for God against the devil.

"There is one further point upon which you invite my opinion,—the observance of Sunday. I do not think that your description of yours is altogether a satisfactory one. To a walk on Sunday I see no objection. I think it desirable, and a country walk preferable to sauntering about town. But sixteen or twenty miles, and a lunch at a wayside inn, cannot but occupy the greater part of the day. I do not think that that is a desirable, or even a lawful way of spending it, and I am very doubtful whether you have any right to frequent an inn, when provision is already made in college for food. Surely great exertion in the week makes much Sunday exercise less, and not more necessary, as you suppose? What, however, strikes me most in your way of putting the case is this, that you contend for the utmost latitude and indulgence, if it is not positively sinful, and you sail very near the wind indeed in deciding for yourself as to what is right or wrong. Now this sort of temper will lead a man on farther and farther; the more he takes, the more he will wish to take, and think it not wrong to take, and gradually his mind and judgment become warped. I do not think your Sunday calculated (as I believe Sunday occupations are intended to do) to deepen your religious convictions, and strengthen your spiritual life, but the reverse. And I think that your whole tone will be lowered and not raised, if you continue to give up so large a portion of that day to mere amusement. My view is that that is specially your day for theological work, and that if the University sermon is the only sermon you hear, you are bound to read some practical work, as, *e.g.*, Thomas à Kempis, the best of devotional books after the Bible. Now I think if you want to prepare for Orders, you should always have on hand some standard work: Wordsworth's *Commentary on the Epistles* to begin with; Hooker, especially his fifth book; Browne on the *Articles;* Palmer's Book on the Church; Milman's *Church History;* or others, *e.g.* Blunt, indeed any of Blunt's works. The careful study of these books will be a great blessing to you hereafter. Theology cannot be crammed in a day. I would advise you earnestly to shorten your Sunday walks to two hours, to give up your luncheons, and spend the two hours thus saved upon Hooker, Blunt, Browne, and Thomas à Kempis. Now you will think that I have written you more of a sermon than a letter, but the points touched upon in your letters are very important, and I am sure that you would wish me to tell you exactly what I think. I do it not with a view to find fault, but to help you. . . . With many and earnest prayers for you, believe me ever, my dearest boy, your affectionate Father, R. Capetown."

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, July 16th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—You will now be enjoying your long vacation. . . . You will, I hope, wherever you may be, not overlook work. I am very anxious to hear that you are immersed in *books* as much as in boats. When you wrote in your last that you were going in for the 'sculls,' I read the word 'smalls;' and the prize you were going to compete for, a silver cup, struck me as a strange one. As you are fond of what concerns the animal part of our nature, I may tell you that the people of Cape Town are getting up a subscription for your friend Tom Sayers. . . . Sir G. Grey has at last arrived. He closes Parliament, which has been very foolish and troublesome this session, on Tuesday next. We have been expecting Prince Alfred every day for the last fortnight. The Governor is to take him first to the Paarl and Stellenbosch, then to Port Elizabeth, by sea; from thence, in Government wagons, to Aliwal North; then to Moshesh, to see a little of savage life, and to hunt a lion; then across the Free State to Natal, where he is to embark for England—all to be done in six weeks. Would not you like to be with him? A son of Kate Wharton's is in the same ship with him. Now, God bless you, my boy, and keep you from all evil.—Ever your affectionate Father,

"R. Capetown."

To Charles Norris Gray, Esq.

"Riversdale, August 15th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—We are here on Visitation. The drought is so great that we can scarce procure forage, and have to pay enormously for it. I hope, D.V., to be at home by October 18th, but this will depend upon horses not knocking up, weather, etc. You will see that Archdeacon Mackenzie is to be consecrated here. He talks of sailing in October. . . . I suppose the children will tell you about the Prince's visit. He is now on the frontier with Sir G. Grey. He is a nice lad, and plays his part well. He came to call upon me, with the Governor, by appointment, and I was out, but they had changed the hour. I met him frequently at Government House, and he was very cordial. We gave him a Bible and Prayer-book, and he gave an engraving of himself for the Kafir Institution. The Colony has made a great fuss about him. Sir G. Grey told him that if he would only marry Sandilli's daughter (who is under Louisa's charge) he would have the merit of putting an end for ever to all Kafir wars!"

To the Same.

"Beaufort, September 15th, 1860.

"My dearest boy—I cannot let the mail go without a line from some of us, and your mother is knocked up with a long journey, and must get some business done before the mail leaves this evening. We arrived here about noon, having travelled yesterday from about 5 A.M. to 9 P.M., with very short commons, over the Karroo. Your mother rode with me, as usual, all the way up to George in one day. The horses have stood their work well, but have 700 miles to do after they leave this, *i.e.* from September 19th to October 18th. Old Klaas, now near seventeen years old, is amongst them, and is the merriest of them all. We have had no adventures worth speaking of. . . . Altogether we shall have had enough of it by the end of the three months. I trust, my dearest boy, that you are working. I am somewhat anxious lest you should be practically making boating and cricketing the business of life, and overlooking the advantages and opportunities now within your reach, never to be renewed. Pray keep your proper work steadily in view, and remember that you are forming habits which will stick by you, and forming your character for life, and that a long life, even for ever and ever. . . . The Prince has not yet returned to Cape Town. He has been all round through the Free State to Natal, hunting, shooting bucks by the hundred, looking at native war dances, and receiving addresses. He has met with a right royal reception, and must, I think, have enjoyed himself vastly under Sir G. Grey's admirable management."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Robertson, October 6th, 1860.

"My dearest Annie . . . Hitherto, by the mercy of God, we have been able to keep all our engagements, and our horses, after 1,200 miles of journey, are still tolerably fresh. The only place where I have broken down was at Heidelberg. I was obliged on my arrival there to go to bed, and have no service. The wear and tear is considerable. The real anxieties are not many, but each case has its difficulties and requires consideration, and the mind is on the stretch the whole time; the topics for thought and future action accumulating as one proceeds. The work is, upon the whole, advancing steadily. No place now likes to be without the English Church in some shape or other. It is a necessary institution for every village. But our work looks very small alongside of the numerically strong Dutch Church. This place is an illustration. On several occasions, I have slept at an adjoining farm where there was not a single house—now there is a large and increasing village. It was formed by the Dutch. Out of the *erven* which they sell at high prices, they build a church, and support a minister by a tax of £1 per annum on each *erf.* Carpenters and masons and little shopkeepers come in, and these form the material for a future English Church. I sent a S. Augustine's man here a few months ago; he and his wife both keep schools. He is a Deacon. I give £50 a year. With the help of the people they get about £160—nearly £400 is collected for a church, and the little handful of Church members are full of life and zeal, and came out in carts to meet me, and, with the Civil Commissioner at their head, welcome me with an affectionate address, and a few flags, and firing of guns. Then there is a young coxcomb of a Dutch *Predikant,* who is much set up with his high position (and no wonder, for they are the Dagons before whom the farmers prostrate themselves), and he preaches last Sunday upon the two orders of the Ministry, and almost scolds his more educated flock into rebellion, because they venture occasionally to look in upon an English service, and himself holds an English service to catch all the stray English he can. This is very much a picture of half the villages in the Colony. Should my life be spared another year, I hope that there will be scarce a village in my Diocese without Church of England ministrations of some sort. My energies get beat down by the continual demand upon spirits and the necessity for action, and the difficulties of the various posts, during a Visitation like this of near three months. I feel sometimes as if I could in some degree realise S. Paul's sense of oppression, when he spoke of that which came upon him *daily*, the care of all the Churches. I have just received most interesting and important letters from that noble fellow Livingstone. He is heart and soul with us. Our Mission, he thinks, must be along the Shire and around Lake Nyassa, and he speaks with much interest of the whole of the lake regions. He would not have us talk much of our field, because the Portuguese will do all in their power to oppose us. I have sent copies of his letters to the Bishop of Oxford for the Zambesi Committee. I have just issued my summons for my Synod in January. In December I hope to have a Conference of Bishops. On the fourth Sunday in Advent, the consecration of Mackenzie will, I hope, take place. The Bishop of Graham's Town will be ready to come down for this; at the last moment, however, the Bishop of Natal says that he cannot possibly leave Natal."

So important and interesting an event as the consecration of the first Missionary Bishop of the Church of England requires a special notice; but its whole history has been so admirably given in Bishop Goodwin's (then Dean of Ely) *Life of Bishop Mackenzie*, that it is only necessary to point out the most marked dates and features. Mr. Mackenzie had been first pressed in October 1854 by the Bishop of Natal to go out with him as Archdeacon. At that time he refused, though burning with

Missionary zeal; but in the December following he determined to go. "'The Lord hath need of him,' is a sufficient answer to all questionings, Why should I go?" he said, and accordingly he went. His life, first at D'Urban, and afterwards at Umhlali, has been graphically described.[1] When the Bishop of Cape Town came to the conclusion, as we have seen, that Missionary Bishops were the true means for spreading the Kingdom of Christ among the African heathen, and when the fervour of his pleading and that of Dr. Livingstone stirred up the Universities to found the Central African Mission in 1859, it was not unnatural that when the question arose, Who should head the Mission? Archdeacon Mackenzie should be named, well known as he was in Cambridge. He was urged to come to England, and was anxious to arrive there in time to catch the Bishop of Cape Town (then in England). But it will be remembered that the Bishop of Natal had expressed an intention (several times alluded to by Bishop Gray on the receipt of his letters) of going himself to the Zulu country; and Archdeacon Mackenzie considered it as "pretty clear, quite in fact," that he was to return to his old place in Natal. Then came "the Great Zambesi Meeting" (November 1st, 1859), when the formal request to him to head the mission was resolved on and made,[2] and accepted.

The whole question of Missionary Bishops, their status with regard to their Episcopal brethren both in England and elsewhere, their canonical obedience, to whom due, and the power of the Bishops of the Church of England to consecrate them, was now opened, and was duly considered by Convocation; and after a report had been adopted by both Houses, the Bishop of Oxford moved (June 8th, 1860)—"That this House having heard, with thankfulness to God, of the prospect of a Mission being led by the Venerable Archdeacon Mackenzie into Central South Africa, desire to express their deep interest therein, and their hope that the Bishop of Cape Town and his Comprovincials may be able to see fit to admit the head of this Mission into the Episcopal Order before he be sent forth to the heathen." Of course this was simply carrying out the Bishop's own plan.

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[1] *Life of Bishop Mackenzie*, by Harvey Goodwin, D.D.

[2] The Bishop of Carlisle says: "The invitation was given and speedily accepted. He seems to have considered it unnecessary to consult his friends; concerning the sacrifice of himself he never entertained a doubt. . . . The deliberate purpose with which he undertook the work may be judged from the following anecdote. He was staying at the time with his sister, in the house of his friend Dr. Paget in Cambridge. It seemed right to Dr. Paget that they should both estimate at its true value the personal risk of the undertaking. Accordingly, he said to Miss Mackenzie: 'Consider what would be the view taken by a Life Assurance Company? If your brother should wish to insure his life before going on this enterprise, and were to apply to any insurance company, I feel sure they would not estimate his chance of life at more than two years.' Miss Mackenzie was much shocked at first by this plain statement; but just then Mackenzie himself came into the room, and when his sister told him what Dr. Paget had said, he took it as a matter of course, not treating it lightly, but as a subject which he had already well considered, and on which he had come to the same conclusion."

While speaking of the Central African Mission, it may be as well to quote a letter giving a full account of its rise, from the Bishop of Cape Town to his brother, Mr. E. Gray, dated January 20th, 1860: "The Central African Mission, of course, owes its existence to the visits of Livingstone at both Universities. The memory of those visits was cherished at the Universities, more especially at Cambridge, where an impression was made upon men's minds. But no steps were taken in either University to form a Committee, or to do anything, till my visit to Cambridge. I gave a terminal lecture there on a Saturday, preached twice on Sunday, and had a meeting on Monday. There appeared to me on the Sunday evening at the University Church to be a great interest felt in Africa, not owing to anything said by me (for I never spoke or preached worse than in Cambridge), but on account of Livingstone; and the thought occurred to me that a fresh impulse might be given at the Monday meeting, and something done for Central Africa. I consulted Richard about it, and asked whether he thought I had better make the attempt. He did not discourage it; but Dr. Atkinson, with whom we were staying, decidedly did. On the Sunday evening —— called upon me, and I broached the subject to him. He caught at it eagerly, spoke of his own longings, and I think also of others, for something to be done, ever since Livingstone's visit; and I determined to make an attempt, if Archdeacon Heaviside, who had collected for me in Cambridge for the five previous years, did not disapprove. He concurred. At the end, therefore, of a very indifferent speech, reported very badly (as, of course, you know all my speeches *are* which do not read well!!), I appealed to the University to attempt the foundation of a Mission in the regions explored by Livingstone. The idea took—a Committee was formed, and the thing started. Now I give you all this important gossip, as you ask it 'for your own information.' But it was all printed, miserable speech and all, by —— in a kind of pamphlet at the beginning of the move; and my letter was afterwards published with the names of enlarged Committees both at Oxford and Cambridge. Now, don't you go and fire up because some one has written an article in which the part of your would-be Hamlet is left out! It really does not matter a single straw what part I took in the formation of the Mission. What does matter is that it should succeed."

Resisting the temptation to dwell on Archdeacon Mackenzie's preparations for work, or the interesting particulars of his departure, we must be content to note his arrival at Cape Town on November 12th, 1860, thus announced by the Metropolitan to his son:—

"Bishop's Court, November 17th, 1860.

. . . . "Archdeacon Mackenzie and his party have arrived, and are now staying with us. I am engaged in writing long letters to my Suffragans, who are at the last moment raising all sorts of questions and difficulties[1] respecting the consecration. These will, I trust, be met and got over, and the consecration take place at the close of the year, or early in January. . . . Livingstone has been writing very interesting letters to me. He is heart and soul with us. Sir G. Grey already talks of our founding another Mission beyond Mackenzie's in the Lake region explored by Burton and Speke, to which Speke has just returned, and which is supposed to be the source of the Nile. Speke is to trace the source, and follow it down to Egypt. Others are coming up to meet him."

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[1] As a specimen, the Bishop wrote to the Bishop of Oxford: "The Foreign Office is at present in a flutter about the possibility of issuing a license without defining the limits of the Central African Diocese. They have referred the question to the Law Officers!! Shall I name the Mountains of the Moon? I can easily give a wide berth of longitude and latitude!"

The difficulties alluded to were prolonged through some weeks. The Metropolitan writes (December 20th, 1860): "I am greatly worried. This Zambesi Mission is not only a great expense, but a great anxiety. It is very difficult to know how to act, and poor dear Mackenzie has quite enough to do in settling his affairs. A portion of the party go up in the 'Sidon,' which is to tow up Livingstone's little steamer the 'Pioneer.' It is a great trial to him to have to separate his party, but it cannot be helped. The Bishops would not come together when I summoned them, and now they cannot. After all, we shall probably have to proceed with the consecration without the Bishop of S. Helena, after chartering a ship at a cost of £250 to fetch him. The Bishop of Natal is here, and I have great difficulty in keeping him. What success I shall have in our Conference I do not know. If S. Helena does not arrive, I fear but little. . . . We have to-day 300 children from the parish to tea and games, and all are already exhausted with the heat. It was near 90° yesterday, and is now 80° at 11 A.M. in the shade. . . . We have had a house full for a month, and are likely to be crammed for two months to come."

At last, on January 1st, the Feast of the Circumcision, 1861, the consecration took place in the Cathedral, the Bishops of Natal and S. Helena joining the Metropolitan in the laying on of hands. The latter wrote of this event to his son—"January 8th, 1861. . . . We have had long and anxious Episcopal conferences previous to the consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie, which took place on the Feast of the Circumcision. The Bishop of Graham's Town was not there, having missed his ship. I am still expecting him to turn up, as he is very anxious to meet the Bishops. The Bishop of Natal, however, and Bishop Mackenzie went down to Simon's Bay last evening, after a large public meeting in Cape Town, and sail to-day in the 'Lyra,' some of the party having previously sailed in the 'Pioneer' and 'Sidon.' All this work has knocked me up a good deal, and I am scarcely fit to write these lines. . . . We had 200 people here to meet the Bishops, and made them speechify on the lawn." In another letter a few days later (January 18th) the Bishop exclaims, "'Oh that I had wings like the dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest!' I should wonderfully enjoy a little quiet rest at your different firesides in England! I have no doubt that all our proceedings of late have been very important, and I think they are felt so to be. Certainly the Church is strengthening her stakes in this land, and her principles are taking root—the very opposition roused is evidence of this. It is a great comfort to me to find that my leading Clergy are struck with the amount done in our Episcopal Conference; not with what *I* feel—the imperfection of what is done, and the quantity left undone. It is very doubtful whether the Bishop of Graham's Town will reach us after all; he has messed his arrangements wonderfully. Though I should rejoice for him to have a talk with me and S. Helena, I hardly wish him now to come, because then Merriman will not be present at my Synod. The Bishop of S. Helena and Mrs. Claughton and their son are with us. He has been a great support to me in my Conference in every way. He sees principles, and is prepared to stand up for them. You may tell his brother that I believe the islanders are much attached to him, and that they support him heartily. . . . I do not feel sure that Mackenzie has even yet sailed from Simon's Bay, for it has been blowing a strong south-easter ever since he left us. If they are at sea, they will have enough of it! . . . (January 19th)—Since writing the above we have had the Bishop of Graham's Town among us. He has agreed to all the resolutions of our Conference, which is a great comfort. We have had two more influential meetings at Cape Town. At the first the Bishops of Natal and S. Helena gave an account of their work; at the second, last night, the Bishop of Graham's Town of his."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"January 20, 1861.

"I am very thankful for the general state of things. The work grows, and the inclination of the people to support it grows daily. I have plenty of minor anxieties, but I cannot but hope that I shall never again, if my life be spared, have to go through what I have endured for the last twelve years. 'Without were fightings, within were fears.' Our work is, I trust, established on a true Church basis. It is founded upon principles that will last. I see more and more every day that true Church principles *are* true. I wish your friend Short in Adelaide saw them more clearly. I had the Government statistics of religion in that Colony before me a few days ago. Church, 6,000; Wesleyans, 17,000: total of different bodies, more than 50,000!!!! Our proportions here, where we came after 200 years' neglect, are better than that. We shall have, I doubt not, much difference of opinion about support of Clergy, patronage, etc.; but I believe there is quite enough good feeling and right principle to settle these points satisfactorily in another Synod. Therefore, those who do not want them to be thus settled will probably still oppose a Synod."

Amid all these anxieties and engagements the Bishop did not fail to throw himself heartily into the interests and occupations of his undergraduate son. "I am glad to hear," he writes, "that you are steadily at work at College again, only I get rather alarmed at the varied nature of your studies and amusements—geology, chemistry, oil-painting, water-colours, singing, boating, gymnastics, cricketing, rifle brigade. All these are very well if they do not divert you from the honest drudgery of difficult Latin and Greek authors. These latter are the solid pabulum, the others the dessert. But I cannot think that the classics stand their fair chance amid all this, and I do feel very anxious that the solid foundation for future improvement should now be laid in the study of the classics, and that through means of them your mind should be undergoing the training and discipline which close application to them brings with it. I have been reading Pusey's *Commentary on Hosea.* It is very copious. He traces out sin in its most subtle forms very powerfully, and his literal exposition of the text will, I think, be a great safeguard against rationalistic error. He will soon, I believe, publish his Commentary on Isaiah.[1] I have no doubt it will be infinitely the best commentary on the Evangelical Prophet. You should read some portion of Scripture daily. You could not do better than take Wordsworth on the Acts and the Epistles. His Commentary is a compendium of sound theology. Have you got hold of Burrow's *Pass and Class?* it seems to be a useful book."

The Bishop held his Visitation on January 16th, and delivered a Charge containing much important matter. It will be found in the accompanying volume of sermons and charges. Upon that followed the Synod alluded to in the above letters. It took place in January 1861, and was in itself most successful,[2] but it was attended by circumstances of peculiar trial to the Bishop of Cape Town. On the occasion of an earlier Synod (1857) the Bishop had been opposed by some few persons who appear to have made a stalking-horse of the supposed "illegality" and injury to the Queen's supremacy which they perceived in this meeting, in order to oppose the Church and her discipline generally, and the Bishop in particular.[3] This opposition had been individually made by a certain Mr. Long, who, when called upon in December, 1856, to summon his parishioners to elect a lay delegate, and himself to attend the summons on January 21st, 1857, did neither the one nor the other—this time without being called to account. The same neglect of his Metropolitan's orders occurring when a similar notice was issued, October 1st, 1860, the Bishop felt it was not possible to overlook so distinct an act of insubordination on the part of one of his Clergy. Mr. Long had been in Africa since 1845, having been ordained a year earlier by the Bishop of London for the colonies;[1] and on reaching Cape Town he had been appointed to the charge of Graaf Reinet by the Governor, where there was no endowment of any kind, nor had he any authority for holding his position save his Orders, and the direct appointment of the Governor. In 1848 Mr. Long was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Cape Town, taking the usual oaths of canonical obedience "in all things lawful and honest;" and the Bishop granted, and Mr. Long accepted, a license to the cure of souls in the parish of Graaf Reinet, the Bishop reserving to himself and his successors the usual full power to revoke such license if just cause arose. In the year 1854, Mr. Hoets, a Priest in English Orders, built and endowed an Episcopal church at Mowbray, and conveyed it to the Bishop and his successors in perpetuity, it being covenanted that he was to appoint the two first incumbents; and accordingly Mr. Long was appointed and duly licensed by the Bishop. When, in 1860, Mr. Long the second time declined to obey the Bishop's summons to his Diocesan Synod, or to convey it to his parishioners, charging the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity who had taken part in the Synod of 1856, with having "seceded from the English Church," and publishing his refusal, together with this charge, in the *Cape Monitor*, a correspondence ensued; and on Mr. Long's persistent refusal to give the required notice of the intended election, he was cited (November 27th, 1860) to appear before the Bishop and answer for his neglect. The Bishop named five Clergy as his assessors, offering to change any to whom Mr. Long had any personal objection. On February 4th, 1861, Mr. Long appeared and gave in a letter stating the grounds of his disobedience, and asserting his intention to persevere therein, at the same time repudiating the Bishop's authority to pass any sentence upon him. The Bishop's assessors (the Dean, the two resident Canons, and two city Incumbents) were unanimous in deciding that the Bishop could not allow such conduct to go unpunished, and Mr. Long was sentenced to three months' suspension, though, with the consideration which always marked the Bishop's treatment of others, he expressly refused to deprive the offending Priest of his emoluments. Mr. Long, however, entirely disregarded this sentence, and for four Sundays continued to officiate as before, administering Holy Communion, baptizing children, and solemnising at least one marriage. A second citation was in consequence served upon him, and upon his refusing to heed this, the Bishop deprived him for contumacy, and appointed another Clergyman, the Rev. W. Hughes, to take charge of the parish. Mr. Long at once applied to the Supreme Court for an interdict to prevent the Bishop disturbing him in his church. The Court granted the interdict for one Sunday, and called upon the Bishop to show cause why the interdict should not be made absolute. At this point begins the trial which was of such vast importance to the discipline of the Church in general, and the Colonial Church in particular. Mr. Long and his personal interests were merely the vehicle for an attack really aimed at the whole Episcopal jurisdiction in the Colonies, and most seriously affecting the status of the Colonial Church.

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[1] A hope, alas! still *but* a hope, in 1875!

[2] "In spite of all that they might have learnt during the last four years, my old tormentors keep crying out about the unlawfulness of Synods, and the penalties of præmunire and violation of Royal Supremacy, and mislead some. I could not have believed that men who think themselves educated had such small powers of reasoning, and could venture to repeat such arrant nonsense!"

[3] A private letter from the Cape of this date says that the Attorney-General of the Colony was reported to have affirmed the Bishop's letters-patent so much waste-paper. The deep-felt jealousy of the Church and its growing influence and activity is alluded to; and the writer adds that no one at the Cape looked upon the trial as a mere personal matter between the Bishop and Mr. Long, but as a peg whereon to hang the whole question of the jurisdiction and *locus standi* of the Church in South Africa.

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[1] Ordained Deacon "for Her Majesty's foreign possessions," in pursuance of the Statute 59 George III. 60.

To understand this clearly, it is necessary to go back a little. The Bishopric of Cape Town was founded in 1847, and at that time all legislative authority in the Colony was vested in the Crown: there was no State Church; all denominations of Christians stood on an equal footing; there were no Ecclesiastical Courts as distinct from Civil Courts; the Supreme Court (under the Charter of Justice, granted 1832) had supreme jurisdiction in all cases arising within the Colony, as well as over all persons within the Colony, whether subjects of the

Crown or others. In 1847 letters patent were issued, erecting the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and the Island of S. Helena, into a Bishop's See, and appointing Dr. Gray to be the Bishop thereof. The letters patent empowered him to perform all the functions appropriate to the office of a Bishop within the Diocese, and especially to give institution to benefices, to grant licenses to officiate in all churches and chapels, to visit all Rectors, Curates, Ministers, and Chaplains, and Priests and Deacons in Holy Orders, and to cite them before him or before the officers whom he was authorised to appoint. He was given power to appoint Archdeacons, Vicar-General, Official Principal, Chancellor, Commissaries, and other officers, with provision for an appeal from any such to the Bishop, and from him to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

When the huge unwieldy Diocese came to be divided in 1853, a different arrangement became necessary, and accordingly the Bishop of Cape Town resigned his Bishopric (November 23rd, 1853) in order to have the Diocese divided into three; whereupon new letters patent were issued to the two fresh Dioceses, and additional letters patent granted to the See of Cape Town, creating it the Metropolitical See of South Africa. Previously to this the Crown had granted a constitution to the Colony, representative institutions had been founded, and a Colonial Legislature established; and Mr. Long and his supporters consequently set up the view that the letters patent were worthless, and that the Bishop possessed no jurisdiction; and in one of his letters he distinctly says, "that the contest is a struggle for civil and religious liberties."

In a private letter of December 20th, 1860, the Bishop says, "Against the Synods our Evangelicals have again been open-mouthed, as 'illegal,' 'violating the Queen's supremacy,' etc. And Mr. Long has put himself forward as their champion, or rather has been put forward, refusing to give notice in his church of a parish meeting to elect a delegate. After making fruitless efforts to convince him that he is bound to publish notices issued by the Ordinary, I am about to bring him to a public trial, and shall have to suspend him. This raises a cry of persecution, and makes him a martyr. I have, however, only a choice between anarchy and a trial."

On February 8th, 1861, Mr. Long appeared under protest at the Cathedral; and as already said, on his continued refusal to submit to his Ordinary, the Bishop, as advised by his assessors, suspended him in the following terms:—

"Reviewing the whole case as now before me, considering how open and long-continued has been your resistance to lawful authority, how unprovoked this contest has been, how easily it might have been avoided, how fruitless have been the loving efforts made by others whose character and position you cannot but respect, to convince you of the false position you have taken up, seeing that the question you have raised is no less than this,—whether law and order or anarchy and confusion shall prevail in the Church; nay, whether there is any such thing as law among us,—assured that there can be no doubt that the laws and customs of the Church of England justify your Bishop in the course he has pursued (the rubric after the Nicene Creed, as I pointed out to you at our meeting, especially recognising his authority in this particular matter), and believing that you have no reasonable ground for thinking that you were called upon to do an illegal act, the evidence to the contrary, if you would have discussed the points with your Bishop, being conclusive;—I have no alternative left but to pass sentence upon you for your repeated acts of disobedience, and your defiance of the laws of your Church and the authority of your Bishop. I therefore pronounce you suspended from the cure of souls, and from the exercise of all ministerial functions and offices, for a period of three months . . . and thereafter until you shall have expressed regret for your past disobedience, and your willingness to render obedience for the future. I have only to add that as you have a wife and children, I should be sorry to deprive you of any portion of your ecclesiastical income; you will be allowed to receive this therefore, as heretofore, for the present."

In a letter to Dr. Williamson, of March 17th, 1861, the Bishop sums up these particulars, saying: "I have had great anxieties since I last wrote, and still have, about Mr. Long's conduct. He protested at my trial of him against my right to pass any sentence or judgment upon him whatsoever. I had in consequence to suspend him. He did not appeal to the Archbishop, as he should have done, but went on officiating. I delayed four Sundays, and cited him again. He refused to attend, and I deprived him on the three grounds of—

"I. Repudiating jurisdiction.

"II. Officiating after suspension.

"III. Refusing to appear on citation.

"On my depriving him, he still did not appeal to the Archbishop, as the letters patent provide, but to the Supreme Court, when I had to appear as defendant. We are miserably off for a Court and a Bar. The Court has an Irvingite for Chief Justice; a Glassite for senior puisne Judge; a Dutchman, a parishioner of Long's, for second Judge; a Lutheran, brother to the Counsel against me, for third Judge. The Attorney-General, a Presbyterian. The other Counsel, most bitterly anti-English Dutchmen. The only man whom I could with a quiet conscience employ, was a young advocate, just commencing work; or a Jew, who was anxious to have the case, but whom I could not think it right to employ to defend a Christian Bishop against a Presbyter. The Attorney-General declined to act on either side. He and Sir G. Grey both urged me to take any counsel, though Sir G. Grey said not a Jew. The Clergy felt with me that I must go into Court and defend myself."

It was under these painful and trying circumstances that on Tuesday, March 12th, the Bishop went to the Supreme Court of Cape Town, where the Chief Justice, Sir William Hodges, and Justices Cloete and Watermeyer sat, to show cause why Mr. Long's application for the rule *nisi* to be made absolute, which he had obtained against his Bishop and the Rev. W. Hughes, should not be granted. The proceedings were according to the forms of the Roman-Dutch law, technically "a claim in convention by the original plaintiff, and a defence and claim in reconvention by the defendant; so that, in fact, both parties were plaintiffs and both defendants."[1]

The claim of Mr. Long insisted that he was aggrieved by the proceedings of the Bishop, and prayed the protection of the Court, and also a declaration of the law by the Court in conformity with his views on the several points in dispute; and, lastly, that he was entitled of right, and without any other license than his Letters of Orders, to exercise all lawful functions of Incumbent of S. Peter's Church, Mowbray.

The Bishop, as he said, had determined on being his own counsel. His speech (which is only preserved in the local papers, and is here quoted from the Cape *Argus* of Thursday, March 14th, 1861), was long and able. Opening it, he said:

"My Lords—I feel that in appearing in person to defend myself, and the course of proceeding which I have adopted in this case, some explanation is due to the Court. Various considerations have led me to do so. Most of the members of the Bar are absent on Circuit. There are facts mixed up with this case, and not unlikely to come under discussion, of which I only am cognisant. The time allowed for counsel to master a delicate and difficult subject has been very short; and under any circumstances it would be extremely difficult for an advocate, not a member of the Church, not even, it might be, an Englishman, to conduct a case which requires some knowledge of Ecclesiastical Law, of the customs and usages of the English Church, and I may add, of the constitution and principles of the Church universal, together with its relation to the laws of the Church of former ages, all of which have, as it appears to me, a very direct bearing upon the case now before us. Very reluctantly, then, and with great pain to myself, but almost of necessity, I stand here tō-day to vindicate in my own person the course which I have felt it my duty to pursue in the case of discipline which has been brought in review before this Court, and to state the reasons which have weighed with me in giving the judgment which is now called in question."

After alluding to his "novel and peculiar position," never having been in any way mixed up with legal proceedings in his previous life, and ignorant of the forms and proceedings of the present Court, within the walls of which he had never before been, the Bishop went on to observe that "the connection which it has been sought to establish between the judgment given which led to these proceedings and the legality of Synods has no existence in fact. I do not wish," he said, "in any way to avoid the discussion as to the legality of Synods, and should in no way object to see the question tried in this Court. But the degradation of Mr. Long has nothing to do with it. His license has been withdrawn, because he refused to appear before his Bishop when cited to do so, to account for his proceedings in continuing to officiate for four successive Sundays . . . after suspension, and for repudiation of the authority of his Bishop, and of his right to pass any sentence upon him whatsoever."

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[1] See Judgment of the Privy Council.

The Bishop proceeded to explain the ecclesiastical status of Mr. Long and himself. "I care not," he said, "by what title Colonial Bishops may be called. They may be Bishops of the Church of England, or Bishops of any particular branch of the Catholic Church, in Australia, or the Indies, or Africa; or they may be, if you so will, Titular Bishops—a most incorrect expression, for a Titular Bishop is, I believe, one who has his functions in one country, while his title is derived from another. . . . I care not, I repeat, what men may please to call me; but I do claim the same authority over Mr. Long, and the same right to censure, suspend, or deprive him, which a Bishop of the Church of England has over the Clergy of his Diocese, and which a Bishop of the Church of the United States has over his Clergy; that is to say, I claim jurisdiction, and I claim it on the threefold ground of its being assigned me—I. By the laws of the particular religious association to which Mr. Long and I belong. II. By the Queen's letters patent. III. On the ground of personal contract entered into between Mr. Long and myself; and here let me observe that this word 'jurisdiction' is an ecclesiastical word, and has its own proper meaning, distinct and apart from what the civil law may attach to it. There may be spiritual jurisdiction attaching to a person or a Court to which no temporal jurisdiction belongs. There may be jurisdiction *foro interiore* where there is none *foro exteriore.* A Court may have no legal coercive jurisdiction—no power to enforce its own sentences, and yet those sentences may be such as to be entitled to claim the support of Courts which have coercive jurisdiction. I venture to draw this distinction . . . because I see it has not been made in a case similar to this elsewhere, and because I think it has not been observed by parties here. . . . I in no way at present mean to define how far the Bishop of Cape Town's jurisdiction over the Clergy of this Diocese extends. That will be a point for future consideration."

The Bishop went on to examine the grounds on which he asserted his spiritual jurisdiction over Mr. Long: "We stand in the relation to each other of a Priest and Bishop of the Church of England. The laws of that Church are those which govern and regulate our relations to each other. Those laws are not the laws of this land, and are, it may be, to some extent, inapplicable here. But they are, in their main features and in their great principles, laws for us, precisely as the laws of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the Wesleyan community, are laws for their respective societies. If there were no letters patent, if there were no written engagement—no personal contract between Mr. Long and myself—I should contend that on this ground alone it would be my duty to inflict upon him such punishments as the canons of the Church authorise for disobedience to its laws. But if it were contended that Mr. Long is not a Priest of the Church of England, and I not a Bishop of that same Church, but that we are simply a Priest and Bishop, then I maintain that he is either a Priest of this particular Diocesan Church, and is bound by the regulations which its governing body shall enact, or else that he is a Priest of that Catholic Church, of which we and the Church of England alike form a part, and is subject to such of its laws as are binding upon every portion of it.

"Whatever position he might be declared to fill, he would come equally under the control of those laws from which he seeks to escape. For this particular Diocese has in its Synod (consisting of the Clergy and elected laity of this Diocese, who do not form an essential part of a Diocesan Synod, but have been invited to attend it), 'acknowledged the authority of the canons and constitutions of the Church in so far as they are in force in England, and as the existing circumstances of the Church in this Diocese permit.' And if he belong to any Church at all, he comes, by the necessity of his position, under the control of the laws which have ever governed the relations of Bishop and Priest in the Church of Christ; and these laws, in their main features and great principles, are the very laws of the Church of England."

These points the Bishop proceeded to establish. First, with respect to the last assertion, he showed from Blackstone that "it has been laid down as a sound principle of general application that colonists carry along with them to their newly adopted country so much of English law as is applicable to their situation and circumstances. Even in this Colony, from which, as a ceded country, English law is so largely excluded, any deficiency in law is supplemented, I believe, by the law of England;" and he quoted Judge Hoffmann on the Church of England in the Colonies, as recognising this principle in the United States. Judge Hoffmann says: "This great principle, which pervaded every Colony founded by Englishmen, prevailed in a particular sphere, wherever a Church upon the basis of the Church of England was founded. They who belonged to such a Church were members of the Church of England upon their arrival, or voluntarily joined it there. The former brought with them, the latter adopted, the doctrine and discipline, the rules and order of the English Church. . . . The proposition is not that the Church, as an establishment, with the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, formed part of the law of the Colonies; but . . . that all members of the Church of England in the Colonies were subject to the Ecclesiastical law of England, except where it was expressly altered, or necessarily inapplicable." And again: "The Church comprehended, as integral portions of its very existence, not merely Articles and Liturgy, but Laws and Canons for discipline and rule. On what possible ground can this identity be asserted, if the latter important fundamental element be discarded?" "It is clear, I think," the Bishop went on to say, after quoting other extracts to the same purpose, "that in a general way Churchmen carry their Church with them into whatever land they go. Her laws are their laws, her principles their principles. *Foro conscientiæ,* whatever she has decided they are bound to observe, and they cease to be Churchmen if they refuse to acknowledge this."

The Bishop proceeded to show how, furthermore, Mr. Long, by his own affidavit as a Minister of the Church of England, acknowledged that whatever was binding on the Clergy of that Church was binding on him; as also how, by his own voluntary act in taking the oath of canonical obedience, he had repeatedly submitted himself to the laws of the Church of England, and to the jurisdiction of the authorities set forth to administer and enforce them.

Going on to the question of spiritual jurisdiction, as committed to the Bishop of Cape Town, he said:

"The next point for me to prove is that the Church of England does recognise and acknowledge the Bishop as judge within his Diocese, and does confer certain powers, or else own them to be in him. There are a great number of Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical which do so. I will trouble the Court only with two,—the 122nd and the 38th. I refer to these especially, because they work out the course to be pursued with reference to delinquent Clergymen. Putting aside then the letters patent for the moment altogether,—supposing them to have no existence or no influence upon the decision of this case,—I contend that Mr. Long, by the very position which he asserts for himself as a Minister of the Church of England, is bound by those Canons which it has framed or recognised . . . and that the question—the sole question—for this Court to consider, is the extent of authority or jurisdiction which the laws and Canons of the Church give a Bishop over a Priest within his Diocese; and whether the Bishop of this Diocese has or has not exceeded the limits of the powers which the Church recognises as belonging to him. Further, I believe a temporal Court could not go, without a violation of religious liberty—without establishing a precedent which would lead it at no distant day to interfere with the religious liberty of all denominations in the land,—without destroying all discipline,—and treading out the very life of Christianity. Into the facts of the case it is the province, I conceive, of this Court to inquire. Into its merits, I believe, it may not enter. The proper Court for this, recognised by the laws of the Church, and provided by the letters patent, is the Court of Arches of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It belongs to a Spiritual Court to examine and scrutinise the decisions of an inferior Spiritual Court, and the grounds upon which they are given. To that Court Mr. Long might have referred the ultimate decision of his case, and have appealed for a reversal of his sentence, had he thought it an unjust one. He could have no reason for not doing so but that he felt it was *just*, and would be confirmed. He preferred therefore to challenge the jurisdiction of his Bishop, in the hope that it might leave him independent of all law and all authority."

The Bishop then quotes sundry authorities in support of his view as to the restrained judgment of the Supreme Court;—the course adopted in the United States; judgments given by the Civil Courts—*e.g.*, one of Justice Rogers' in a case relating to the German Reformed Church, to the effect that "the decisions of Ecclesiastical Courts, like every other judicial tribunal, are final, as they are the best judges of what constitutes an offence against the Word of God and the discipline of the Church. Any other than those Courts must be incompetent judges of matters of faith, doctrine, and discipline; and Civil Courts, if they should be so unwise as to attempt to revise their judgments on matters within their jurisdiction, would involve themselves in a sea of uncertainty and doubt, which would do anything but improve religion or morals." . . . And Lord Coke: "As in temporal causes the King, by the mouth of the Judges in his Courts of Justice, doth judge and determine the same by the temporal laws of England; *so in causes ecclesiastical and spiritual* . . . the same are to be determined and decided by Ecclesiastical Judges, according to the King's Ecclesiastical Laws of this realm." Passing on through a string of authorities proving the Bishop's power to deprive, he continues: "The only question which remains is, Whether the Bishop has deprived Mr. Long for just cause? To enter into this is to enter into the merits of the case—to submit the Spiritual sentences of a Spiritual Court to the consideration of a Temporal Court, which, with all deference to your Lordships, I venture to submit has no authority to revise them, no jurisdiction over them. The jurisdiction of this Court, it appears to me, does not extend to spiritual things. It can, if it pleases, assign to Mr. Long the payments which Mr. Hoets has stipulated to make, and keep him in possession of the building transferred to me personally and to my successors by the deed now upon the table. . . . Whose property this is,—who has the control over it, it is for the Civil Court to pronounce;—but to confer, or to compel a Bishop to confer or restore spiritual power, is not, as it appears to me, within the limits of its jurisdiction, and is not, I should imagine, claimed. Mr. Long's license, then, would still continue withdrawn, whatever the issue of the present trial might be. If he continued to officiate, he would do so without any authority from the Church, nay, in the teeth of that authority. It would be in open schism that he would do so, and under the pain of further censures of the Church. Having made these observations to guard myself against being supposed to have submitted my spiritual acts to the judgment of a Temporal Court, and with an apology to your Lordships, if it be needed, for the freedom of my remarks, I shall, as this is a question new to us all, show that Mr. Long has been removed for a 'lawful cause.' . . . What he may mean by a 'lawful cause' is not to my mind quite clear. If he mean by it a cause defined and laid down by the civil law,—by an Ordinance or Act of Parliament of this Colony, unquestionably no such law exists, and I hope no such law ever will exist. But a lawful cause may exist without this. The infringement of the laws of the Church,—the refusal to be bound by those laws,—or to obey the authority appointed to administer them, is a lawful cause,—just as the refusal to obey the laws of Freemasons or Methodists, or any society, secular or religious, to which a man might belong, would be a lawful cause for ejecting him from that association. Now this is what Mr. Long has done. The laws and usages of the Church authorise the Bishop of the Church to cite any of his Presbyters before him. Mr. Long has refused to obey such a citation. They authorise a Bishop to suspend a Clergyman for causes of which he is the judge, with certain provisions as to appeals. Mr. Long, being suspended, has officiated in spite of his suspension. They authorise the Bishop to pronounce judgments and sentences. Mr. Long has repudiated such an authority, and denied that his Bishop is entitled to pronounce any sentence or judgment whatsoever. There never was a clearer case of a man utterly and entirely repudiating the authority of the religious association of which he is a member and a minister; and the officer charged with the administration of the laws of that society had, to say the least, a lawful cause for depriving such person of office in the body whose regulations and laws he so utterly defied."

The Bishop, however, continued to show that the acts he had done and the sentences he had given were done "under an authority, as I believe, as great as that under which the Governor of this Colony rules; or your Lordships administer justice; or the Parliament enacts laws." Alluding to the assertion that his letters patent were "so much waste paper," he said, "I am aware that my powers are called in question; that it is generally believed that I resigned the first letters patent, issued before the granting of a Constitution to the Colony; or that they were cancelled or revoked by the Crown, and that the letters patent subsequently issued are an instrument of inferior authority, and do not convey legal powers. But all this is a series of mistakes."

The Bishop then went through the history of the letters patent; the legal definition of the Episcopal office as Judge and Visitor of his Clergy; the meaning of a "reverent obedience" such as is promised by those ordained; and the nature of "a lawful and competent authority." In conclusion the Bishop said:

"I have now only, in conclusion, to apologise for the great length at which I have felt it necessary to address your Lordships, and, it may be, for the introduction of irrelevant matter in my ignorance as to what might be the points on which the Court would need information. The duty which I have had to discharge, in dealing as I have done with a brother Clergyman, your Lordships will believe has been a very painful one, but I have seen no escape from it. The course which he has pursued has been from the beginning one of persevering and determined resistance to the laws of the Church and the authority of his Bishop; and no efforts made in private, by myself or others, have had the least influence in inducing him to forbear a struggle which could only have a painful issue to himself. I neither have had, nor have, any personal feeling in the matter; but I owe it to the office which I fill, I owe it to the Church, I owe it to the Great Head of the Church, to maintain its laws and enforce its discipline. Mr. Long has set himself above the Church, has defied its spiritual powers, and has appealed to the Civil arm to protect and support him in the attitude which he has assumed. At whatever cost to myself—at the risk of being misunderstood, misrepresented—I may not shrink, whatever may be the anxiety or distress which it may occasion, from bearing the burthen which my office entails upon me. The great body of the Clergy do, I am thankful to say, fully concur in the course I have pursued, and believe that none other was open to me. The faithful laity will also, if some be perplexed and disturbed now, not knowing what to think in a case so novel, and attended by such sad circumstances, do justice to the motives which have influenced me in the proceedings which I have adopted, and perceive the necessity there has been for them.

"If the views of Mr. Long are correct—if he be supported in them—then will the Church, whose laws are the most perfect of any corporation upon earth, and are the growth of eighteen hundred years, be pronounced in this land to be the most lawless of societies, and incapable, by law, of regulating her own internal affairs; for her officers would be declared incompetent to administer discipline, even though the drunkard or adulterer should profane her altars, and desecrate her pulpits."

Mr. Watermeyer then addressed the Court in support of the rule being made absolute, endeavouring to stir up a sense of persecution and injury to the Clergy generally, as expressed in the Metropolitan's course, and regretting that they generally approved of the Diocesan's conduct, and that "the sympathies of the Clergy of the Diocese are not with their reverend brother, who, in defence of their rights as much as his own, has been trampled upon and attempted to be crushed by his Diocesan."

Apparently unconscious of how strongly such evidence must tell against his client and cause, the counsel went on to "urge that the laws of the Church are not what my right reverend friend thinks them to be." To this end Mr. Watermeyer asserted, *quantum valeat!* that (in his opinion, of course) "the Episcopal office in the Church of England has no necessary connection with what is called the dogma of Apostolical Succession by laying on of hands, from the twelve Apostles, or thirteen, as perhaps the truth may be. The Episcopal office in the Church of England is the creation of the law of England" (so Mr. Watermeyer believed at least); and he quoted Lord Bacon and Lord Macaulay as his authorities, inducing a remark from the Chief Justice that "if Mr. Long entertained the opinion of Lord Macaulay, he should not have sworn to render obedience to the Bishop." The counsel went on to argue that the Bishop is merely invested with certain powers to perform certain legal acts, without any jurisdiction; that "the Parliament, with the Sovereign as a constituent part of it, alone can legislate for the Colony;" that the Bishop certainly had a power to institute to benefices and license to cures, but not to take away any such license, and denying that he could exercise any restraint or discipline at all. On the Chief Justice inquiring whether the counsel supposed the Bishop unable to remove a man for crime—say adultery—he replied that the Bishop in such a case must come to the Supreme Court and present the culprit, and it would cancel the contract between him and his Diocesan. "A person who is paid, I will not say for keeping, but for teaching the Commandments, would not be allowed, I should say, to break any of them!" The counsel closed his address (which lasted three hours) with an attempt to excite an impression that the whole thing was a struggle between "High Church and Low Church;" and to kindle sympathy for his client who "is suddenly told that his children may ask him to-morrow for their bread, and may ask for that bread in vain; and this not for any gross offence of which any gentleman would be necessarily ashamed, but because he has differed on a subject in which there is much ground for difference of opinion, and on honourable grounds, from his Bishop, who is his ecclesiastical superior I admit, but who is no more likely to be infallible than himself."

At this stage of proceeding the case was adjourned till the next day, when Mr. Watermeyer resumed his attack upon the Church, which, however, for present purposes, he was anxious to stamp as a "State Church," and in no ways a voluntary association; going on to use abusive language concerning the Bishop of Exeter, which led to a rebuke from the Chief Justice, who also remarked that many people believed "the Bishop of Exeter very manfully stood up for a true doctrine." After a long speech from this gentleman, the Metropolitan, expressing his regret that from physical causes he was less able to give his whole mind and attention to the subject than on the previous day, went on to say that he regretted the learned counsel should have introduced matters of a personal nature into the subject, and have imputed to him motives which he trusted had not at all influenced him in regard to Mr. Long.

"He has represented Mr. Long and myself as belonging to different sections of the Church, which possibly may be true; but he has also suggested that probably that had some influence on me in the course I pursued with regard to Mr. Long. As far as differences of opinion in the Church of England are concerned, those differences do to a certain extent exist; but I myself have always held and always felt that there is by no means that wide difference of opinion existing between what is called High Church and Low which some are ready to suggest; and I have felt that I could heartily and lovingly co-operate with many of those who are called Low Churchmen. I have lived on terms of great affection and regard with some of them in this Diocese. There are men who do not hold the same opinions as myself on many points, but I can appeal to the whole body of the Clergy of this Diocese, and I am sure what the answer would be to my appeal as to whether I have ever allowed my own individual feelings or opinions, be they what they may, to influence me in any of my public proceedings with regard to them and their interests. I quite feel that I may appeal to every one of the Clergy in this Diocese to ask whether it is so." The Bishop then briefly recapitulated the course of his proceedings with respect to Mr. Long, which the opposing counsel tried to stop, and was again rebuked by the Chief Justice, who reminded him that he had had full latitude allowed to himself. The Bishop went on to speak of the legality of Synods as held in the Colonial Churches, and to notice some of Mr. Watermeyer's assertions concerning the power given him by his letters patent as reducing the Clergy to a state of "indefinite subjection;" of "the tremendous power of the Bishop; that the Clergy are slaves to the Bishop's will," etc. etc.

"I may say here that England and her Church have both grown up under precisely the very system which is here claimed. I do not claim, I have never claimed, any power, jurisdiction, or authority, in this Diocese which a Bishop does not exercise in England; and I do maintain that I exercise all such not as 'an indefinite power,' but as a definite power, a power well defined by law, which is binding upon me, and for the transgression of which I may be punished by the Archbishop of Canterbury. I say that I do exercise a strictly definite power, not as making the Clergy my slaves, not as having a complete control over them, but just as the Bishops in England exercise their jurisdiction. . . . It is not power, God forbid that it should be power, that I am seeking;—it is not power, but it is a duty, a responsibility, which I believe God has committed to me, and which I believe the law of the land has committed to me, for which I am responsible to God and to my immediate ecclesiastical superior, just as much that I should not infringe, so also that I should not diminish the power committed to me."

The Bishop could not pass over Mr. Watermeyer's assertion as to how discipline was to be exercised—*i.e.* through the Civil Court. "He has stated what his theory is of the position the Church and the Crown have assigned to Bishops in the Colonies almost in these words: 'Your office is to go and preach the Gospel, and though you have been judges in all ages in England, you cannot be so here;—you must go and exercise a superintendence over the Clergy; and then if you find your Clergy, some of them adulterers, some drunkards, some heretics, some of them transgressing the laws of the Church, you must go to the Governor or the Supreme Court and ask him or it to remove them.' That is his theory of what the Church and Crown of England have said to Bishops. Now, first of all, I would point out how I conceive that to be a monstrous proposition. He has said not only ought Bishops of the Church of England to bring all ecclesiastical cases and spiritual cases to be adjudged by this Court, but I would remind my friends of different denominations, that he has said that all religious bodies should bring their questions of internal discipline to be settled by this Court. I never did hear so Erastian a principle asserted; and I believe if that principle were carried out, it would speedily tend to crush the very life out of Christianity, for a Church without discipline is no Church at all. Well now, my learned friend says that all these cases are to be brought before this Court, and that it is the proper authority for their settlement, instead of the Bishop; in fact, that it is to be the Bishop of the Church of England in this Colony. He also stated, in reply to some remarks of the Chief Justice, that he did not believe that cases like those of adultery and drunkenness would very often come before the Court, but that is not the point. The point is whether it is absolutely necessary to bring such matters before this Court, and not only such matters, but also questions of doctrine. Now, in the course of my argument, it is necessary for me to state that I believe it is not essential that Judges of the Supreme Court should be even Christians. I believe there would be nothing whatever to prevent an unbeliever sitting on the seat of judgment here. There would be nothing to prevent a Mahometan, there would be nothing to prevent a Jew, there would be nothing to prevent a heathen from sitting on this judgment-seat, if duly qualified; and I do say that to maintain that questions affecting doctrine, questions affecting Holy Scripture, the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, Atonement, and matters of that kind, ought to be decided by a Court which might be so composed, is really as dangerous a principle to establish as could possibly be established under any circumstances, and I do feel that the liberties of the whole Christian community of all the religious bodies in the Colony would be endangered if such a doctrine were to be held."

The Bishop concluded with these words: "I will only in conclusion say that I do believe myself that a great question is now under the decision of this Court, a great question affecting the religious liberties of every religious body in this land; and I do believe myself that if your Lordships should decide that you will go into the merits of the case,—that you will enter into all the questions which would be thereby opened out,—you would be taking a step which would be infringing the liberties of this particular Church, and undoubtedly endangering the liberties of all religious bodies in the country. I do hope that such a course will not be pursued,—a course different to that which is uniformly pursued in the United States of America,—a course different to that which is pursued by the temporal Courts of England, even with respect to the Church established there."

Herewith proceedings closed for the present, the Court promising to give judgment as early as possible. The Bishop's own account of the recent proceedings to his son may be interesting here.

"Bishop's Court, March 19th, 1861.

"My dearest boy—Your mother has sent you a Cape paper, which will show you that I have been figuring in a new character. I have just made my debût as a pleader in Courts of Law, and the world says with some success. The Attorneys say that I shall have all the business if I will continue in that line! Seriously, however, I have gone through a very anxious time and nearly broke down from distress of mind. Had I not gone into Court and defended myself, I must have placed my defence, as a Christian Bishop against one of my Presbyters, in the hands of a Jew. This I could not consent to do, and with many misgivings, both as to the propriety of the thing, and my capacity for conducting a case in Court against the learning of the Bar, I forced myself to try; and am complimented by Judges, Attorney-General, and others, with having argued the case better than any one else in the Colony would have done. It is said that judgment will be given before the mail leaves. If so, you shall know what it is. I cannot conceive that it will go against me, nor does any one else, I believe. . . . I am nearly well again, though needing and longing for quiet. Probably there will be an appeal in this case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

To John Mowbray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, March 19th, 1861.

"The Attorney-General says freely that judgment can only be given in my favour, and he is a great authority, and reckoned by Sir G. Grey and others as equal to some of your greatest lawyers. I fear that, under any circumstances, there must be an appeal. I should appeal against an adverse decision, and Long's churchwarden is a lawyer and avowed Presbyterian and obstinate man, and he will force him to appeal. If there should be a necessity to refer the case to the Judicial Committee, I want you to be kind enough to act for me, and to take counsel with the Bishop of Oxford as to how to proceed. My wish would be to employ Roundell Palmer, and, if he can practise before the Judicial Committee, R. Phillimore as junior. Unless advised to the contrary, I should not myself go home, but I will get up the case as well as I can here. All this has been forced upon me. I am told that the proceedings in Court have already done much good, and I am greeted warmly on all sides. The Judges and the Bar unite in saying (such is the low state of the Bar) that there is no lawyer there who could have argued the case. It has been a very painful position for me to be in, but I think it has been already overruled for good."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"March 19th, 1861.

"I have gone through great anxiety about this trial, having no one who could thoroughly advise me. It is the fact that we have not a Church lawyer in the Colony, that has driven me from time to time to get up a little learning on the subject, which has just served me in good stead. . . . I do not regret the suffering that I have gone through. It was needful, and I believe the status of the Colonial Church had better have been tried in my Diocese than in most others. It will clear up the atmosphere, and let us all see precisely where we stand. The state of the Church here is already the better for what has passed. It has drawn out feeling towards myself, removed doubts, cleared up men's minds, and led Churchmen to look at the principles which have been set before them. But I am very very weary of excitement and disquiet, and long, I cannot tell you how keenly, for rest. . . . But I suppose this state of things will go on as long as life lasts, and it is well perhaps that it should be so. . . Some sharp discipline is needful for us all, and mine these thirteen years has come in the way of great anxieties. In health, God be thanked, I am better. I have thrown off symptoms which seemed to threaten mischief, and when not under the pressure of any great anxiety, sleep well."

To Rev. Dr. Williamson.

"I worked for twenty-one hours on Monday last to prepare my opening speech, which all the papers said exhausts the whole subject. I was replied to by counsel for three hours on that day, and two hours on Wednesday, and replied in a speech of two hours, spoken so rapidly that it could not be reported. My reply was said by the Attorney-General and others to have been crushing. He said so to me, and to others publicly out of Court . . . . but popular opinion has come round to my side. . . . The love and sympathy of the Clergy were my chief support. The Judges have themselves said that they never had a case put more forcibly before them, and the Attorney-General has told my solicitor that he is quite convinced, and that he could only give judgment in my favour. But I put not any trust in men. . . . Having been abused for the month past as a persecutor, I find myself for a brief moment a kind of hero, having been said to have conducted my case better than any lawyer could have done for me. All the Clergy are with me. . . . I hope that you will not think that all this is a love of strife. God knows how I long for rest and peace, but I have been forced into this, and every one who knows how unfixed and unsettled everything is in the Colonial Churches, knows that it is so. . . . The Church Laity are greatly drawn towards me, and I have many tender encouragements from unexpected quarters. But we are a strange medley here of Dutch, dissenters, etc. I believe that many dissenters now regard me as the champion of religious liberty. Even the Dutch say generally that I am right. Well, it little matters, so that the truth be established, but I have gone through a great deal!"

"The judgment did not come at once, as the Bishop here intimated. He writes to his sister:—

"Bishop's Court, April 12th, 1861.

. . . . "I have still this painful case of Mr. Long's on hand. He and his lawyers are always moving the Court upon some point or other, which puts me to expense and annoyance. The case cannot come on before May 15th, and probably will not then. No lawyer here can conduct it, and I shall probably have to take it in hand myself. . . . ——— says he would not have meddled with Long. People here think that after publishing an open defiance I could not help it. He and men like him have been driving these last ten years at this question, which must have come on sooner or later. It is law or no law—order or anarchy—jurisdiction or no jurisdiction. The discussion has already done good. It educates people in Church questions. One effect is that the churchwardens round here and sidesmen, all of whom have hitherto stoutly refused to be admitted and make their declaration of office, all answered to the citation this time. It is a great step to Church order. I should not care for the abuse of the world, if the anxiety and excitement of so many works and subjects did not prove too much for me. I have not now for many nights slept after 3 A.M. If I could I would take a ride into the country for a few days."

To E. Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, May 16th, 1861.

. . . . "What with sick folks, and a home-hotel, and trial expenses, I have not all to give away that I could wish. Sophy and I have been making two or three little short trips to the country, as I have been holding confirmations in the various parishes within fifty-one miles round, and the result is that I sleep better. . . . I have no news for you. The working up of materials for my trial has occupied a good deal of time, and has given me more insight into Canon law. They set me down here now as an ecclesiastical lawyer. I shall be glad enough, however, to consign Spelman and Grindwood to the cobwebs, not but what Canon law is an interesting study, but I cannot afford time to go into it thoroughly. This case has been thrust upon me. . . . The plaintiff's pleadings appear to me weak. They compel me to go into almost all Church questions—*e.g.*, Synods, lawfulness of authority, constitution of the Church, etc. The sifting of these questions is an education for Churchmen. It will, I trust, do good, and repay me for some labour and more anxiety. It must have come somewhere sooner or later."

To Mrs. Williamson.

"Bishop's Court, June 12th, 1861.

"My dearest Annie—I must write a few lines to thank Richard for his letter of sympathy under my troubles; I have received many such. For myself I do not care; but it is a comfort to find that very many, best able to judge here and elsewhere, think that this case must do the Church good service throughout the Colonies. It could not have been long staved off. . . . I am quite satisfied with my case, and it will require an immense amount of ingenuity to upset it, and great perversity in judges not to endorse it. I have asked all to whom I could speak to pick holes in my arguments and positions, and all say they are unassailable. I am down for next Tuesday, but I believe that the case will not come on then, as one of the Judges is ill, and the Chief Justice in Parliament as President of the Council every day. I have done all I can to push matters. It ought to have been heard a fortnight ago. . . I have had a great deal of trouble in looking up authorities, and shall make a speech which will occupy, I daresay, four hours."

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Bishop's Court, August 12th, 1861.

"On Friday I have to go into Court once more to defend the liberties of the Church in person. I can have but little doubt as to the result, but I am afraid there will be an appeal to the Privy Council, and that I shall be put to great expense, as well as farther annoyance. Mr. Long's lawyers give it out that if defeated they mean to appeal, and I have no doubt that they will, as his supporters will not lose a chance of overthrowing the Church, and upsetting the letters patent. Dutch and dissenters alike would be glad to have it ruled that there is no law, discipline, or jurisdiction in the English Church; that our parishes do not constitute one Church, one body, but are a series of independent congregations, which would result from the endorsement of Mr. Long's standing ground."

"August 14th, 1861.

"These gentlemen subpœna Clergy and others in all directions, and appear to wish to make matters as disagreeable as possible. . . . I am afraid the matter will last several days. . . . I never had to cross-examine witnesses before on matters of any kind, still less on constitutional and legal questions. . . . We are all, thank God, well. Dearest wife more useful than ever. I have, amidst many public anxieties, every private blessing that a man could have. For myself I have had for years nothing to desire, but more faith and love and holiness."

The case came on again in the Supreme Court at Cape Town on August 20th, and on that and the following day the Bishop made the speech to which he alludes in the above letters. It was published at the time *in extenso*. The Bishop began by recapitulating the points of his speech in March :—

I. That the Bishop of the Diocese had jurisdiction over the Clergy belonging to it—

a. By the laws of the Church.

b. By the Queen's Letters Patent.

c. By contract and engagement.

II. That by the laws of the Church a Bishop's sentence or judgment is final and conclusive, unless or until reviewed and reversed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

III. That the plaintiff ought to have appealed to the Archbishop for redress, not to the Supreme Court.

IV. That the case ought to be dismissed on that ground alone—*i.e.* that the Supreme Court is not the proper court of appeal.

V. That to constitute itself such would be to set aside, not the Queen's letters patent only, but the laws, customs, and usages of the Church; to oust the Archbishop from his jurisdiction; to decide that the Diocese should not be governed by its discipline administered in accordance with its own laws and customs, but by the Court and its rules and regulations.

VI. That to do this would be to depart from the system laid down in England as regards the office and functions of a Bishop of the Church; and also as regards non-established bodies by courts of law both in England and in the United States.

VII. That a case like this could not, in its present shape and stage, come before the temporal courts in England.

VIII. That the Supreme Court has no jurisdiction upon the merits of a case of ecclesiastical discipline, its proper function being to keep the Bishop within the limits of his jurisdiction.

The Bishop proceeded to repeat his reasons for affirming the validity of the letters patent, and for believing that the Diocese of Cape Town no more ceased to be the original Diocese founded by his first letters patent, than the Diocese of York ceased to be York because the Diocese of Ripon was carved out of it. He examined the Charter of the Supreme Court, the powers conveyed by letters patent, in which it is expressly said that the See is founded for "the maintenance of discipline" as well as the doctrine of the Church of England within the Colony; and "the discipline of the Church" (he said) "implies its whole constitution, with its relationship of Bishop to Priest and Priest to Bishop. It involves the administration of the laws of the Church; there can be no discipline if there be no jurisdiction." He went on to define the functions of a Bishop; to examine the nature of courts of appeal, reaffirming that, while the Supreme Court had perfect right to determine as to the civil interests of any case, it had none in ecclesiastical or spiritual matters; and closing his preliminary remarks with these words: "I crave the indulgence of the Court if I seem over bold in asserting the rights of my order, or in questioning your jurisdiction . . . and declare that my sole reason for raising such a question is the fear lest I should compromise my office, and establish a precedent which might be injurious to the best interests of the Church, for the admission of which future generations would condemn me; and begging to assure you that, personally, I should be sorry that the whole case should not be thoroughly sifted and gone into, knowing that the more it is weighed and canvassed, the more my just dealing will appear, and the more it will be seen that this is a struggle between law and order on one side, and anarchy and confusion on the other; between Church or no Church, Independency or Episcopacy."

The Bishop then went through the plaintiff's allegations. I. That it was contrary to law and his just rights that he should be summoned to take part in a Synod, or bound by its decisions; in reply to which he discussed the question as to what the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town really is. "Some amongst us affirm that its proper title is the Church of England in South Africa. I apprehend that it has no claim to such a designation. The letters patent do not call it by this name; it is, according to them, the Diocese of Cape Town—it has an African title. Lord Campbell's language in the trial of the Queen *v.* Eton College certainly seems to refuse it the title of Church of England in Africa. I apprehend that the dictum, 'There is no Church of England out of England,' would be confirmed in our courts of law. The Committee appointed by Convocation to consider this and other questions, recommends that this Church be called 'The Bishop, Clergy, and faithful in the Diocese of Cape Town, in the Church of South Africa, in union and full communion with the Church of England, etc.' . . . How does it become so? What links it on to the Mother Church? Individuals baptized and confirmed, and admitted to communion with it in England, carry their Churchmanship with them wherever they go. They are members of the church of their fathers, to which they are bound by the ties of love and affection, and by sacred ordinances, and by unity of faith. But how shall we link on the Church of this land itself, which consists mainly of persons baptized and confirmed here, to the Church of our fathers? Its Bishop and Clergy are in some way bound to it by the oaths taken at their ordination and appointment to cures; they receive at these times her Prayer Book, Articles, and Canons.—The letters patent constitute another link; they pretend at least to transplant to these shores something of the laws and constitution of the English Church, its doctrine and discipline . . . and that is all the mother land and Mother Church could do . . . they could not, without interference with the civil and religious liberties of this country, do more. They could not transplant to this land all the laws, the growth of more than a thousand years, which regulate the internal affairs of the Church. If any further step were taken in this direction it must be by the Church here. It is a sense of the lawlessness, *i.e.* the absence of all positive law in the Colonial

Churches, that has led so many Bishops of the Church in Australia and New Zealand and Canada and Africa and elsewhere to call into active life the dormant power and authority of Synods. Without Synods, Bishops must be the nominal autocrats of the Church; they must, by their sole authority, enact laws, or give up the reins of discipline, and allow anarchy to prevail. They must act as best they can amid emergencies, and without those constitutional aids and checks which the existence of Synods brings along with them; and the Church, under such a system, must be weak and lifeless in the extreme."

The Bishop went on to show—

I. That Synods are the constitutional bodies for making laws for the Church.

II. That the Bishop is entitled to summon his Diocesan Synod.

III. That the Synod of this Diocese was properly constituted.

IV. That its acts are the acts of this Church, and are binding upon the absent, as well as those present.

In the course of this part of the Bishop's argument, there occurs a striking passage on abandoned opinions.

"Ten years ago," he said, "when the subject of Synods was brought before the English mind and lawyers' minds, it was a new one. Men were called upon suddenly to express opinions, and it is not much to be wondered at that these opinions are not worth much. Some few very respected names, when claims hitherto little urged were put forth, said they could not be sustained. Others maintained the contrary, but the first class of objectors soon gave way. The present Lord Chancellor[1] was among them. Confounding the Convocation with Diocesan Synods, he at first said that the latter were unlawful in the Colonies, because the former could not be summoned in England, except by the Queen's writ, in company with the Parliament; but he soon saw his mistake, and we find him, in company with Sir F. Thesiger (since Lord Chelmsford and Lord Chancellor), T. Napier, T. Stephens, who has been so often quoted by the learned counsel, declaring that there was no law to prevent their being held in Australia, or in Adelaide, where they have ever since been held without challenge, the Governor of the Colony being himself a delegate, and the Synod doing quite as much in the way of legislation as we have done. . . . There has been of late years a great growth in the opinions of lawyers (*pace tua,* I say it), with reference to the liberties of the Church. Twenty years ago they denied it almost any liberty. In the last few years they have had different views. It has fallen to my lot to have something to do with such questions. When I first asserted the right of the Church to consecrate a Bishop for the heathen in my Cathedral Church, Earl Carnarvon, Under Secretary of State, told me that my claim, which I requested might be submitted to the law-officers of the Crown, came as a thunderbolt upon them. The case, however, was submitted and considered, and I was informed that the claim was admitted. But at that time it was not believed that the Bishops at home could do such a thing—the idea was scouted. Nothing daunted, however, the Bishops submitted a case to the present Lord Chancellor, this same Sir R. Bethell, the Queen's Advocate, and the present Attorney-General, and they all pronounced that the English Bishops could do the same, but very amusingly cautioned them against the exercise of so novel and unusual a power."

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[1] Lord Westbury.

The Bishop proceeded to dissect Mr. Long's other pleas, to examine into the actual nature and force of licenses, the ecclesiastical position of the parish of Mowbray, the endowment thereof, etc., going on to show what the real question at issue was, "not what the plaintiff's ecclesiastical status is . . . but whether under any circumstances the Bishop had a right to deprive him of his license, his cure, and his emoluments; and, if this be admitted, then whether he had the right to do so under the circumstances of this case." He proved that to officiate "in the teeth of an ecclesiastical sentence, and that without an appeal, but treating it as a mere nullity, is, according to the laws of the Church, one of the very gravest of ecclesiastical offences."

"In this case," he said, "*contempt* was repeatedly offered, and that after repeated admonition. . . . The sentence of deprivation followed, because, after the sentence of suspension was defied . . . there was no other remaining course open except excommunication, which I should have been very loth to adopt, because in the eye of the Church it would have been a heavier sentence than deprivation, however lightly man may regard it in these days. . . . Were I to point out the awful nature of this sentence from Church authorities, I might possibly be charged with popery and priestcraft; I shall therefore quote from a less suspected source—the Heidelberg Catechism, which is, as we all know, the form of instruction for the members of the Dutch Church in this Colony. . . . In its 31st section this question occurs: 'What are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven?' The answer is: 'The preaching of the Holy Gospel and Christian discipline, or excommunication out of the Christian Church.' Then it is asked, 'How is the Kingdom of Heaven shut and opened by Christian discipline?' And the answer is: 'Thus; when according to the command of Christ, those who . . . are complained of to the Church . . . and if they despise their admonition, are by them forbid the use of the Sacraments, whereby they are excluded from the Christian Church, and by God Himself from the Kingdom of Christ.'" After quoting the Dutch Church's forms of excommunication and of reconciling penitents, the Bishop went on to say: "Now, if all this be a reality, and not a lie—if to excommunicate a soul be to cut it off for the time from Christ and from the Kingdom of Heaven—to place it out of the pale of salvation—to remove it from the Kingdom of our Lord unto the Kingdom of that Lord's enemy—to reduce the excommunicated person to the condition of a heathen man—the Court will, I am persuaded, agree with me that it is a sentence to which a Bishop should, in dealing with one of his Priests, have recourse only in the last extremity, and after all other expedients had been tried and failed. It was because I believed that deprivation was a lighter punishment than excommunication that I had recourse to it. But what would have been his position had I excommunicated him, according to the Canons, and then, if he had not submitted himself, had proceeded to deprive him? Could your Lordships, under any circumstances, have set aside a sentence of excommunication? I apprehend not. Excommunication is a spiritual act, cutting a soul off, as we have seen, by a sentence of the Church, from spiritual privileges, and no sentence of your Lordships could restore those privileges, recover for the plaintiff that status, make a spiritual sentence null and void, or compel a Bishop to revoke it. The deed of contract expressly provides that the Incumbent of this Church must not be under the censures of the Church."

Referring to the Counsel's assertion that in these days it is impossible to deal with heresy, or to expel those who may teach it from the Church, the Bishop went on to say: "If it should be ruled that the Bishop of this Church cannot suspend or deprive a Clergyman under any circumstances, the claim to do so being Popish and medieval, he could not prevent infidels from occupying the pulpits of our churches. There would be no protection for the flock of Christ from false teachers. My Lords, the first duty of the Christian Church and of a Christian Bishop is to witness to the truth—to guard the deposit of the Faith committed to his keeping. It is not his business to consider whether the doing his duty will help forward or not the retention of numbers in the outward Communion of the Church;—he must leave that to the Great Head of the Church. His business is to be faithful to his Lord at any cost. Should evil days come upon us; should the love of speculation lead men astray; should the unbridled license of private opinion lead ministers of Christ to re-echo in this land the teaching to which allusion has been made,[1] as, alas! may be the case; it will, I am sure, be a grief to some sincere though mistaken Christians to feel that, by these proceedings, and the line they have adopted, they have done much to weaken the hands and discourage the efforts of him whose special office it would be to stand up for the truth of God handed down to us from our forefathers in the Faith. My Lords, if a Church does not witness for the truth, it does not witness for Christ. It ceases to be a true Church. Its light becomes dim, its life wanes, and at length its candlestick becomes removed. But it is the very power of the Church to eject heresy from its bosom that excites the alarm of the learned counsel, and rouses his powers of declamation." . . .

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[1] Essays and Reviews.

In conclusion, the Bishop said: "To have been compelled in person to defend in a temporal court not only my conduct with regard to a brother Clergyman, and my general rule and administration of the affairs of this Diocese, but also with regard to the Crown and its supremacy, whose legitimate rights I have ever sought to maintain, and would be the last man to invade, has been sufficiently distressing and humiliating. I shall not, however, regret it, if by so doing I may in any degree have established the Church and its laws on a firmer basis than that upon which they have hitherto rested, or have led any of my brethren . . . to weigh and consider and realise for themselves what that true constitution and principles of the Church are.

"It may be too much to expect that gainsayers will be convinced. It is not, however, too much to hope that henceforth they will be silent or unheeded. That an erring brother might be recovered and brought to recognise his fault is perhaps more than I dare venture to anticipate; but even to him one would think the reflection must bring pain, that (with it is believed a single exception) he is the only Clergyman among some thousands who, during the period that England has had Colonies, have served the Colonial Church—who has called in question the jurisdiction and defied the authority of him who was set over him in the Lord, compelling him to vindicate his right and just authority in the Civil Courts of the country.

"My Lords, I leave the case with confidence in your hands. The real question I submit at issue is, whether the Church shall be tolerated in this land or not? whether her officers shall be allowed to put her laws into execution? whether she shall be denied the right to carry out her own discipline? whether the Church is an organised body, with rules and laws and officers to govern it? or whether her parishes are so many congregations of Independents? Upon the decision which you give, rest, I believe, not only the religious liberties of this Church, but of every denomination in the land. If, unfortunately, it were to be ruled by your Lordships that the sentences of recognised authorities in religious bodies shall not be final and conclusive, but that this Court will assume to itself the function of deciding upon the right or the wrong of such sentences—will claim the right to enter into the merits of every case of spiritual discipline that may be brought before it—to say whether a man shall or shall not remain a member of a religious body—in a word, to bind and to loose;—then, my Lords, knowing what the composition of this Court might be, that there is nothing to prevent a Mahometan or a Jew from sitting on this judgment-seat, and that it is far from impossible that in a few years we may behold distinguished unbelievers occupying your Lordships' places, and knowing what are the kind of cases which would probably be hereafter brought before this Court by members of religious bodies;—that they might relate to the inspiration of Holy Scripture, the doctrine of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, or the Atonement;—knowing these things, I should tremble for the religious liberties of my adopted country;—I should be filled with apprehension for the future wellbeing, if not the very being, of the Church of Christ in this land. And, my Lords, I feel constrained to say, that if it should be ruled that the Church shall not have freedom in this land;—that she shall not be allowed to put in force her own laws;—that the real office and function of the Episcopate shall be proscribed; it would be a matter of grave consideration whether I ought not to abandon a post, the duties of which I should not be allowed to fulfil, and seek to exercise my ministry in other lands, where full liberty is granted to her.

"But, whatever your Lordships' verdict may be, for myself I am not troubled or disturbed. I have stood up for the right at great pain and cost to myself—*liberavi animam meam.* I have done my duty in this matter to God, and for God. I have for these thirteen past years administered discipline in this Church, and at this day, in this case, not harshly or severely, but firmly, though reluctantly; and I believe my brethren of the Clergy throughout the land feel that this is so.

"It has caused me as much suffering to inflict as it can ever have caused my brother to bear the blow. Influenced by no personal considerations, acting in this matter simply as the responsibilities of my office have required me to act, I do not fear the result. I know that the issue will be for good. I am persuaded that what has happened will tend hereafter to the furtherance of God's Glory, the strengthening of the Church, and the advancement of Christ's Cause and Kingdom in this land." [1]

Soon after this the Bishop writes (September 12th, 1861): "I send you my last speech in the Supreme Court, which I am vain enough to think conclusive. The Judges, however, have gone off on a long circuit, and will not be back till near

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[1] How strikingly these words are confirmed by Bishop Cotterill,—November 1st, 1872—being then Bishop of Edinburgh—who said: "In other branches of the Colonial Church Synodical action was commenced, and in some respects matured, long before it was completed in South Africa. But nowhere was it conducted among difficulties so perplexing as those with which Bishop Gray had to contend; nowhere was opposition so vehement, and for a time apparently successful; and nowhere, except in South Africa, did that opposition lead to judicial decisions, which, whilst they involved him in great anxieties and losses, yet even while they seemed to be adverse, nevertheless, by sweeping away the fiction of a Royal Supremacy, exercised through letters patent, ended in establishing on far safer and higher principles the ground on which the Church might exercise its inherent right of self-government. It is through these struggles with which his name will ever be associated, that the Church has gradually obtained, even from those who seemed most reluctant to admit it,—a recognition of the truth that she need not wait for acts either of a Sovereign or of a Parliament to exercise her own functions. A few words of his own, written to me long since, will explain better than any words of mine the principle on which he acted in these matters, and which, while exciting opposition at first, ultimately produced such important results: 'My conviction is,' he said, 'that there is less loss in the long run by making a stand at first for what is right, than by yielding points of importance because you cannot get people to see that they are important as clearly as you do yourself.'"

Christmas. I am glad that they will have time to think before they speak, for many new and important questions have been raised. Watermeyer argued his case better than before; but has, I think, established nothing."

"February 14, 1862.—I dread the possibility of a fresh collision and fight, for if the Judges were to assume spiritual power I should be compelled to excommunicate. To admit that the temporal Court has a spiritual jurisdiction above that of the Church would be to unchurch the Church! This I may not do, at whatever cost. I shall do nothing rashly; but if the Judges assume spiritual jurisdiction, I shall be beset with difficulties, and I think there will be a row."

Judgment was not given till February 15th, 1862, when the Chief Justice summed up. In the course of his summing up his Lordship expressed several strong and important opinions —*e.g.*, "The proofs that Mr. Long has acknowledged the authority and jurisdiction of the Right Rev. defendant as his Bishop, are full, ample, and complete. In truth, if the Bishop be not a Bishop, Mr. Long is not a Priest. . . . If such Courts act within their jurisdiction, and there is no irregularity or fraud in the proceedings, it appears to me that their decision is final, and that this Court has no power whatever to inquire into the grounds of their decision. . . . I cannot for a moment doubt that a Bishop of the Christian Church may suspend or deprive a Presbyter. 'Order is Heaven's first law,' and surely we must expect to see it maintained in every branch of Christ's Holy Church. The next inquiry is whether the Bishop regularly exercised his power in the present instance." This his Lordship judged he had done, and he concluded by saying: "I have only to add that when the prohibition was applied for, on which these proceedings are founded, I was against granting it; because I held the same opinion on this all-important question then that I have endeavoured to express to-day; and if my opinion proves to be correct, the result will be that in this Colony every church and community will be allowed self-government, and to manage its own internal affairs without the interference of this Court, provided its proceedings, rules, and regulations are not illegal, or calculated to impair the security, peace, and tranquillity which now happily prevail."

Mr. Justice Bell then gave his judgment, which dissented from that of the Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Watermeyer last. He said emphatically, "I believe the plaintiff to have been throughout in error, and for his error he suffers. At the same time this error has been induced by the very anomalous position of the Church of England in this Colony . . . and the plaintiff, wrong as he is, and punished for the wrong, is certainly entitled to sympathy." The Chief Justice then gave the Judgment of the Court in favour of the defendant.

"The Supreme Court" (the Bishop wrote, February 19th, 1862, to his son), "Judge Bell dissenting, have given a verdict in my favour, with costs. They have affirmed every great principle that I have thought it my duty to contend for, and put the liberties of the Church upon a safe foundation. . . . Mr. Long appeals to the Judicial Committee, and I am plunged into fresh and anxious litigation. All will, I doubt not, end well; but it is very harassing."

To Dr. Williamson he wrote at greater length by the same mail.

". . . . The Court gave judgment in my favour . . . they were five hours delivering themselves. The Chief Justice took the ground of not interfering with the internal affairs of spiritual bodies, and spoke very strongly on this point. It was a very able judgment and very sound. Bell followed for two hours and a half; letters patent good for nothing; Crown could not give ecclesiastical jurisdiction; no Church of England here, nothing but certain congregations; nothing to bind us to the Church of England—neither prayer book, nor canons, nor anything. If Mr. Long chose to have extempore prayer instead of Liturgy I could not touch him; I had no jurisdiction of any kind. Synods, if not illegal, were nearly so. We had nearly, if not quite, violated law in some of our proceedings. I had done wrong in every point—there was no contract by ordination vows, or licence, or in any other way, between me and Long; and if there had been, it would have been a violation of law—my judgment and the ground of it were wrong. It was the speech of a partisan and an advocate, not the sober judgment of a judge. He is a Scotch Presbyterian by birth; his wife was a Glassite, and is now a communicant, and I have confirmed his children. . . . Watermeyer's judgment was a very powerful one. He is our leading Judge, and a Lutheran; brother to Long's counsel. He had worked the whole subject thoroughly out. His argument was an admirable one. They have affirmed every principle that I have contended for; the only point in which the Court differs from me is on the perpetual existence of the first letters patent, and a *coercive* jurisdiction arising out of them. I argued this (and I am not convinced that I was wrong), not because I wished it to be so, for I think it would have been injurious to the Church, and I should have had, by law, Episcopal and perhaps not Metropolitical jurisdiction over Graham's Town and Natal; but because it was a point which might serve, if others failed. I need not tell you that the result is a great relief to my mind. They talk of an appeal, and even the *Argus* thinks that a judgment of the Privy Council alone can finally and fully settle these questions. I trust that the expense may deter them, for the Court has given me costs; but I do not fear the result. No judges in England would upset the judgment of the Supreme Court here, that religious bodies are to govern their own internal affairs by their own laws, without interference from secular Courts, provided that they do nothing against the law of the land. I have had a long and anxious contest, God knows, but I do not regret it, if it is to settle the question of the religious liberties of the Church in the Colonies for ever. Long has been at the Wesleyan chapel in Mowbray for the last three Sundays, and has done all he could to keep people away from the Church, which is, however, full."

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"March 18th, 1862.

"I send you by this mail the judgment. Watermeyer's is the best, though I doubt his law. Bell's has given great offence. I am writing notes on its perversions and misrepresentations for R. Palmer and R. Phillimore, for there is to be an appeal. Perhaps, as this will settle the status of the whole Colonial Church for ever, it is best for the Church that there should be one. But it is an additional source of anxiety to me, and will (with costs here) compel me to find £700 or £800. I saved £100 by pleading my own cause. The Chief Justice says my speech was the best sermon I ever preached;—I suppose because I converted hardened judges! What do you think of our new Governor writing to me, re-opening and re-affirming all the points against which the judges have decided, and declining to appoint Hughes to Rondebosch till he has laid the matter before the Duke of Newcastle? I have sent him this morning a letter of twenty-seven folio pages in reply, and pretty strongly set before him the determination of this Church not to allow of any interference on the part of the civil power with its religious liberties or the acts of its Synods. He has forced me to this. I fear that it may destroy harmonious action during his government. But I have learnt this, that these men—the world—will crush you if you do not tell them in the plainest words that they shall not. Even Dizzy, in his Wycombe speech, seemed to intimate that the Mother Church was too complaisant to the civil power. I wish she were more independent.

"February 20th, 1862.

. . . "Had the rule simply been discharged, they say that an appeal would not lie to the Privy Council. It is vacation now, and they say that these pleadings will not take place for near three months. Their decision was that, *pendente lite*, Long should not officiate, but receive his pay, as he has half-a-dozen children. The Dean and the Clergy and Tennant, my solicitor, think that the decision was the best that could have been given, inasmuch as it turns Long out of the Church, to which he would have clung if the case had been settled against him, and I should have been compelled to proceed in Court as plaintiff for his ejectment, and this would not have been decided for three months. I think, with the Chief Justice, that the case was closely made out in all points, and logically and conclusively proved; but though it worries me a good deal, and will give me much trouble to work up the case more fully than I could do in the two days before the trial, it will teach both Judges and public what the nature and the true principles of the Church are. . . . I had meant, if the case had been settled yesterday, to have offered to reinstate Long, on condition that he expressed sorrow, and promised future obedience. I have no personal feeling in the matter, but as jurisdiction has been repudiated, it must be asserted."

To Edward Gray, Esq.

"Bishop's Court, February 20th.

"I have received notice of appeal, and have written to S. Oxon to ask him to advise you how to proceed. My own view (looking at the importance of the case as fixing the status and liberties of the whole Colonial Church) would be to employ Sir R. Palmer and R. Phillimore, asking the latter to name an attorney to prepare the case. I send you the whole of the published proceedings of the trial. . . . I will, if I have time (I am writing now during the night) prepare a paper of remarks upon the judgment, as hints to counsel; but this will be very difficult, even if I have time, without the judgment before me. . . . At seven this morning I leave for town, to watch the petition of appeal and oppose certain parts of it. This is the fourteenth anniversary of my landing here. Anxious years they have been. Would that all the errors of them had not been."

To the Same.

"Bishop's Court, March 18th, 1862.

. . . "During this year I shall draw as little as possible on my private account, for you will want full command of it to pay the expenses of an appeal to the Privy Council. The Court here has bound Mr. Long's attorney to the extent of £600 for my costs. I suppose it may not come up to that in England, but I probably shall pay £200 here, having saved £100 by pleading my own cause. . . . The case will be prepared here, I am told, and printed, so that there will be very little for an attorney to do. The Chief Justice signs the case to go before the Judicial Committee. If anything should occur to prevent R. Palmer from taking up the case, I should be glad if you would take the Bishop of Oxford's opinion as to counsel. . . . This case will settle the right of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans to try an erring brother. . . . If Courts should refuse to endorse the opinion of Watermeyer, the Church must break up in the Colonies. It could not hold together long as a body. But the Privy Council will not. It will endorse that view, and it will be an immense boon to the Church everywhere, and save it from prostrating itself before Colonial Parliaments, composed of men of all denominations, and asking them to be gracious enough to define rights of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and tell them what they may do and what they may not. Colonial legislation for the Church is no better than a device of Satan to destroy it."

As it seems desirable to keep the details of the Long case together as a whole, apart from other matters, it need only be said here that Bishop Mackenzie's death, which occurred February 22nd, 1862, led the Metropolitan to return as soon as he was able to England, although he had resolved not to do so concerning his own affairs. Accordingly, he landed at Plymouth on June 26th, 1862.

The Appeal of Long *v.* the Bishop of Cape Town, came before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council on February 9th, 1863;—Sir Hugh Cairns, Dr. Twiss, and Mr. F. M. White, being Counsel for the Appellant; the Solicitor-General, Sir Roundell Palmer, the Queen's Advocate, Dr. Phillimore, and Mr. Henry Buller, for the Bishop. The Arguments were concluded on the 13th, but the Judgment was not given till June 24th.[1] Probably this judgment surprised most Church people when it appeared, reversing, as it did, that of the Supreme Court of the Colony. The Lords present were—Lord Kingsdown, the Dean of the Arches, Sir Edward Ryan, and Sir John

[1] See Appendix I.

T. Coleridge. Lord Kingsdown, in giving judgment, after describing the case, said:

"In the argument at our Bar many questions of great novelty and importance were raised and discussed with remarkable ability. Some of them were considered, and very justly, by the Counsel, as seriously affecting the wellbeing of members of the Church of England in the Colonies and other dependencies of the Crown. We propose to deal with these questions only so far as may be necessary for the present decision, and to abstain as far as possible from saying anything which may prejudice cases that may hereafter arise."

Lord Kingsdown then proceeded to give a statement of the facts, going on to express an opinion upon them as follows:—

"The first question which we have to consider is, What authority did the Bishop possess, under and by virtue of his letters patent, at the time when these sentences were pronounced? The Judges below have been unanimous in their opinion: 1*st*, That all jurisdiction given to the Bishop by the letters patent of 1847 ceased by the surrender of the Bishopric in 1853, and the issue of the new letters patent; and 2*ndly*, That the letters patent of 1853 being issued after a constitutional government had been established in the Cape of Good Hope, were ineffectual to create any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, within the Colony, even if it were the intention of the letters patent to create such jurisdiction, which they think doubtful. In these conclusions we agree.

"Dr. Gray had been duly appointed and consecrated a Bishop of the Anglican Church in 1847, and such he remained after the resignation of his See; but by such resignation he surrendered all territorial jurisdiction and power of proceeding judicially *in invitos*, so far as such authority depended upon the letters patent of 1847. These points have not only been decided by the Court below, but have been embodied in their judgment, by which they have expressly rejected the second claim of the Bishop. But a majority of Judges below has held that the defect of coercive jurisdiction under the letters patent has been supplied by the voluntary submission of Mr. Long, and that he is on that principle bound by the decision of the Bishop. This point we have next to consider.

"The Church of England, in places where there is no church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better, but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them. It may be further laid down that where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, then the decision of such tribunal will be binding when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice.

"In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense courts; they derive no authority from the Crown, they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences, they must apply for that purpose to the Courts established by law, and such Courts will give effect to their decision, as they give effect to the decisions of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties. These are the principles upon which the Courts in this country have always acted in the disputes which have arisen between members of the same religious body not being members of the Church of England. . . . To these principles, which are founded in good sense and justice, and established by the highest authority, we desire strictly to adhere; and we proceed to consider how far the facts of this case bring Mr. Long under their operation.

"To what extent then, did Mr. Long, by the acts to which we have referred, subject himself to the authority of the Bishop in temporal matters? With the Bishop's authority in spiritual matters, or Mr. Long's obligations *in foro conscientiæ*, we have not to deal.

"We think that the acts of Mr. Long must be construed with reference to the position in which he stood as a Clergyman of the Church of England towards a lawfully appointed Bishop of that Church, and to the authority known to belong to that office in England; and we are of opinion that by taking the oath of canonical obedience to his Lordship, and accepting from him a license to officiate, and have the cure of souls within the parish of Mowbray, subject to revocation for just cause, and by accepting the appointment to the living of Mowbray under a deed which expressly contemplated, as one means of avoidance, the removal of the incumbent for any lawful cause, Mr. Long did voluntarily submit himself to the authority of the Bishop, to such an extent as to enable the Bishop to deprive him of his benefice for any lawful cause, that is, for such cause as (having regard to any differences which may arise from the circumstances of the Colony) would authorise the deprivation of a Clergyman by his Bishop in England. We adopt the language of Mr. Justice Watermeyer (p. 81), that 'for the purpose of the contract between the plaintiff and the defendant, we are to take them as having contracted that the laws of the Church of England shall, though only as far as applicable here, governs both.'

"Is, then, Mr. Long shown to have been guilty of any offences which, by the laws of the Church of England, would have warranted his suspension and subsequent deprivation? This depends mainly upon the point whether Mr. Long was justified in refusing to take the steps which the Bishop required him to take, in order to procure the election of a delegate for the parish of Mowbray to the Synod convened for January 11th, 1861. In what manner and by what acts did he contract this obligation? The letters patent may be laid out of the case, for if the Bishop's whole contention in respect of them be conceded, they conferred on him no power of convening a meeting of Clergy and laity to be elected in a certain manner prescribed by him for the purpose of making laws binding upon Churchmen.

"A very elaborate argument was entered into at our Bar to show that Diocesan Synods may be lawfully held in England without the license of the Crown, and that the statute with respect to Provincial Synods does not extend to the Colonies. It is not necessary to enter into the learning on this subject. It is admitted that Diocesan Synods, whether lawful or not, unless with the license of the Crown, have not been in use in England for above two centuries; and Mr. Long, in recognising the authority of the Bishop, cannot be held to have acknowledged a right on his part to convene one, and to require his Clergy to attend it. But it is a mistake to treat the assembly convened by the Bishop as a Synod at all. It was a meeting of certain persons, both Clergy and laity, either selected by the Bishop, or to be elected by such persons and in such manner as he had prescribed; and it was a meeting convened, not for the purpose of taking counsel and advising together what might be best for the general good of the society, but for the purpose of agreeing upon certain rules, and establishing in fact certain laws by which all members of the Church of England in the Colony, whether they assented to them or not, should be bound.

"Accordingly, the Synod, which actually did meet, passed various acts and constitutions purporting, without the consent either of the Crown or of the Colonial Legislature, to bind persons not in any way subject to its control, and to establish Courts of Justice for some temporal as well as spiritual matters; and, in fact, the Synod assumed powers which only the Legislature could possess. There can be no doubt that such acts were illegal.

"Now Mr. Long was required to give effect as far as he could to the constitution of this body, and to take steps ordered by that body for convening one of a similar nature. He was furnished with a copy of the acts and constitution of the last Synod, and he was requested to attend carefully to the enclosed printed regulations with regard to the election of delegates. He clearly, therefore, was required to do more than give notice of a meeting, and he could not give the notice at all without himself fixing the time and place at which the meeting was to be held. He was required to do various acts of a formal character for the purpose of calling into existence a body which he had always refused to recognise, and which he was not bound by any law or duty to acknowledge. The oath of canonical obedience does not mean that the Clergyman will obey all the commands of the Bishop against which there is no law, but that he will obey all such commands as the Bishop by law is authorised to impose; and even if the meaning of the rubric referred to by the Bishop in his case were such as he contends for—which we think it is not—it would not apply to the present case, in which more was required from Mr. Long than merely to publish a notice.

"We are, therefore, of opinion that the order of suspension issued by the Bishop was one which was not justified by the conduct of Mr. Long, and that the subsequent sentence of deprivation, founded upon his disobedience to the order of suspension, must fall with it.

"It was strongly pressed, both before us and in the Court below, that, supposing these sentences to be erroneous, Mr. Long had no remedy against them except by appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury under the provisions of the letters patent. What authority his Grace might possess, under the letters patent or otherwise, to entertain such an appeal if it had been presented, it is unnecessary, and we think it inexpedient, to discuss. It is sufficient to say no such appeal has been presented, and that the suit in which this appeal is brought respects a temporal right, in which the appellant alleges that he has been injured. It calls for a decision as to the right of property, and involves the question whether Mr. Long has ceased by law to be what in England is called *cestui que* trust of funds of which the Bishop is trustee. Whatever else Mr. Long may by his conduct have done, we cannot hold that he has precluded himself from exercising the power which under similar circumstances he would have possessed in England, of resorting to a Civil Court for the restitution of civil rights, and of thereby giving to such Courts jurisdiction to determine questions of an ecclesiastical character essential to their decision. Indeed in this case the appellant and respondent have alike found it necessary to call upon the Civil Court to determine the right of possession of the church of Mowbray.

"We think that even if Mr. Long might have appealed to the Archbishop, he was not bound to do so; that he was at liberty to resort to the Supreme Court, and that the Judges of that Court were justified in examining, and indeed under the obligation of examining, the whole matter submitted to them. We are, of course, in the same situation, and after the most anxious consideration we have come to the conclusion that the sentence complained of cannot be supported; and therefore we must humbly advise Her Majesty to reverse it, and to declare that Mr. Long has not been lawfully removed from the church of Mowbray, but remains minister of that church, and entitled to the emoluments of it."

The learned speaker went on to make some observations, which must have struck every one cognisant with the case as altogether mistaken and unfair, concerning the Bishop's course of proceeding, as to form, with respect to his assessors, etc., concluding with the words:

"On this occasion (the sentence of deprivation) the sentence seems to have been founded on what are termed repeated acts of disobedience and contempt by Mr. Long, instead of on the single charge which he was called upon by the citation to meet. We cannot say, therefore, that the proceedings have been conducted in a proper manner, although our judgment rests on the other grounds already stated.

"We have been much embarrassed by the question how we ought to deal with the costs in this case. We do not doubt that the Bishop has acted in the conscientious discharge of what he considered to be his public duty, and he has succeeded at great personal trouble and expense in bringing this contention in the Court below to a favourable issue. On the other hand, it is impossible not to feel that Mr. Long has been subjected to probably not less trouble and expense by a course of proceeding on the part of the Bishop which we have been obliged to pronounce is not warranted in law. Feeling the hardship of the case upon the Right Rev. Respondent, we still think that we are bound to award the costs of the suit and of the appeal in favour of the Appellant. We cannot, of course, suggest to Her Majesty any consideration of what it may be fit to do, at the expense of the public, for this is beyond our province. But it is not beyond our province to observe that the Lord Bishop has been involved in the difficulties by which he has been embarrassed in a great measure by the doubtful state of the law, and by the circumstance that he, not without some reason, considered the letters patent, under which he acted, to confer on him an authority which, at the time he acted under them, Her Majesty had no authority to grant, and that either in this or in some other suit it was important to the interests of the Colony generally, and especially of the members of the Church of England within it, that the many questions which have arisen in this case should, as far as possible, be set at rest."

It may perhaps be well here to mention the significant fact that the Treasury contributed the sum of £285 : 5s. towards reimbursing the Bishop (his expenses coming to above £1,600); others also who felt moved at the injustice of the case, contributed to the same end, notably Mr. Keble and Mr. Isaac Williams, eventually reducing the Bishop's charges to £900. No doubt these might have been far more materially lessened, but for his own very strong feeling against asking for any help, or allowing any of his family to do so on his behalf,—considering, as he did, that it was for the Church's cause he was pressed, and that, while gladly accepting help from those who offered it, the cause was too dignified a one to solicit aid.

The Bishop had returned to Cape Town in April 1863, before this judgment was delivered. On receiving it, his first step was to write a letter to the Churchwardens of Mowbray, which is so important a document in this episode of Colonial Church history, that it is necessary to quote it at almost full length:

"Bishop's Court, August 14th, 1863.

"My dear Brethren—The final decision of the Judicial

Committee of Privy Council on the many important questions relating to the Church in the Colonies has at length reached me. You will expect to hear from me in what light I regard that decision as affecting both, first your own parish, and second the Church at large. First, as to the parish (here the Bishop quotes the judgment as to giving of notices). However little I may be satisfied with this interpretation of the law of the Church—(and I am not satisfied, but still believe that by that law the presence of the laity does not destroy the character of the Synod, and that by the canons of the Church every Clergyman of a Diocese is bound to acknowledge the authority of the Synod of the Diocese, and to attend it when summoned, without entering into any contract to do so)—I frankly allow that I am bound in practice to admit the authority of the Judges on such a point; and that it sets the conduct of Mr. Long, so far as the fact of refusal to give the notice is concerned, in a different light from that in which I have regarded it. In law, according to the judgment of the highest court of law, he was justified in refusing to give the notice. With his moral obligations the Court does not concern itself. They do not properly come under its cognisance. 'With Mr. Long's obligations *in foro conscientiæ* we have not to deal'!

"Acquiescing, as I feel bound to do, in this interpretation of the law, I have felt the greatest difficulty in making up my mind as to how I ought to deal with Mr. Long himself. The decision puts him in possession of the emoluments of the living and of the building. Professedly, if I understand it aright, it does not go beyond this. It does not affect to give him the cure of souls, and the right to minister Sacraments, which have been taken away. It says expressly, 'The suit respects a temporal right,' 'calls for a decision as to rights of property.' . . . 'With the Bishop's authority in spiritual matters we have not to deal.'

"But indirectly it does this. Admitting, as I do, the deprivation to be a sentence of a mixed character, the suspension was purely a spiritual sentence. It affected no temporal right. It left the emoluments untouched. That sentence of the Bishop is set aside. If there be such a thing as the Christian Church, all spiritual power within it must be derived from Christ. Neither kings nor parliaments nor civil courts can confer it. It has been given by Christ (at least so the Church of England holds) to the Bishop. Herein lies my difficulty. Is not acquiescence in this assumption a surrender of spiritual authority to a temporal Court, and a betrayal of the trust which Christ has committed to me? With great hesitation I have come to the conclusion, after weighing well the advice which has been tendered to me both here and in England, that I may restore, and perhaps ought to restore, Mr. Long to the cure of souls, and the right to celebrate Sacraments, upon the ground that he had in law justification for his conduct. I have therefore to inform you that I have, with the advice and concurrence of the majority of my assessors in his trial, formally restored him to the exercise of spiritual functions in the parish of Mowbray; and I pray God to give him grace to act hereafter with faithful allegiance to the Church, and dutiful submission to its authority. But in doing this I desire to guard myself against any recognition of spiritual authority in the Judicial Committee as regards this Church; and I therefore feel solemnly bound to protest—as in cancelling my spiritual sentence I have protested, and here again protest—that in accepting their judgment on a matter of law, I do not admit the claim of the Court, if such claim be involved in its decision, to set aside a spiritual sentence of a Bishop of the Church in Africa. In that case I repudiate the asserted right, and declare that my acquiescence is not to be regarded as a precedent, should any future case arise of an appeal from my jurisdiction to that of a secular Court. I hold myself free to give or to withhold spiritual powers, let the sentences of temporal Courts be what they may.

"You will, perhaps, look for some expression of my view as to the bearing of this judgment upon the general position of the Colonial Church. The Court admits the Bishop's jurisdiction, and the right of the Church to meet in her religious assemblies, and to regulate her own affairs. Her members, when they meet, may make rules for the enforcement of discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who, expressly or by implication, have assented to them. They may 'constitute a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequences of such violation.' This is all very valuable, and it is all that has been claimed for the Church here.

"The Judges further declare—I. That the Queen's letters patent convey no ecclesiastical or civil jurisdiction—are worthless for the purpose for which they have been chiefly framed; and II. They neither affirm nor deny the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon this latter point I offer one or two observations.

"The subject of appeals in spiritual causes from Colonial Churches is one of great moment. The Crown, so far as it had power to do so, appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury by letters patent a final court of appeal. In this the Church has generally concurred. . . The Judicial Committee, by leaving the question of right of appeal doubtful as regards the Archbishop, but not doubtful as regards itself, manifestly encourages appeals to secular courts. I regard this as full of danger to the Church. If the Court claims the right to hear appeals in cases of discipline, it certainly will make the same claim in cases of doctrine. It will, *de facto*, decide what is or what shall be the recognised faith of every religious body in the empire; and its decisions will become virtually fresh articles of faith for those bodies. It may add to or diminish what those bodies, by their own courts, have decided to be their faith.

"Is such a system to be allowed to grow up among us? Is a secular court, whose judges need not be Christians—before which causes cannot be pleaded except at a ruinous expense—to be acknowledged—for it does not claim to have been made—a final court of appeal for all religious bodies in the empire? In this case it has been laid down that parties choosing to appeal to it, or indeed to any civil court, 'thereby give to such courts jurisdiction to determine questions of an ecclesiastical character essential to their decision.'

"I confess that to my mind such language is alarming, and dangerous to the liberties of the Church; and as a Bishop and a judge in ecclesiastical matters, I feel bound to say that I cannot assent to it, or recognise any civil court as having ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this branch of the Church of Christ.

"The Judicial Committee, while admitting the right of the members of the Church to meet and consult together, has accused the Synod of this Diocese with interference in temporal matters, and with the commission of illegal acts. This is a grave charge, but, as far as I know, it is a charge for which no ground exists. The regulations passed by the Synod are of the same character as those which have been adopted by Synods in almost every Colonial Diocese, and had reference only to matters of internal administration, interfering in no way either with the functions of the civil power, or with civil privileges. I can only, therefore, express my surprise that such a charge is made, and my belief that it is entirely groundless. To say that a Synod may not frame such rules and regulations as those which have been passed by the Synod of this Diocese, is to deny that we may act as a Church, and to interfere with our religious liberties.

"As to claiming to bind those who do not assent to its authority, it is sufficient to observe, that, by deciding that all Clergymen who should hereafter be received into the Diocese should assent to its authority, it sufficiently showed that it did not assume authority over persons independent of that assent.

"There are certain statements made by the Judges which are incorrect as to matters of fact. Some of these I feel bound to notice; there are others which I pass by. I. They speak of some of the delegates of the Synod being 'elected by the Bishop, or elected in such manner as he had prescribed.' You are aware that there is no foundation for this statement. The delegates were all elected, and elected in the manner in which the Clergy and lay delegates of the previous Synod appointed them to be.

"II. They admit that the Bishop could not do otherwise than act as judge in this case, but say that he should have procured the advice and assistance of assessors, of men of legal knowledge and habits, and have left it to them to frame the decision. No one acquainted with the facts of the case, or the circumstances of this country, could have made such a remark as this. Bishops for a thousand years gave their decisions without the aid of civil lawyers, and I should be justified in doing the same. In this case, however, I did obtain the best professional advice which, at the time, I thought it in my power to procure.

"III. They say that, instead of this course, the Bishop selected three gentlemen, all Clergymen sharing his own opinions.

"There were five Clergymen. The Synod had decided that Clergymen should be the Bishop's assessors, and had appointed these very men to be such. The Canons of the Church (122) do the same. Mr. Long was asked if he objected to any of them. There was only one Clergyman then in the Diocese who did not share the Bishop's opinion as to the lawfulness of Synods. All this was in evidence before the Judges.

"IV. They say, 'The Bishop insisted that Mr. Long was bound by the rules established by the Synod, and must therefore, it should seem, have considered himself bound by them; and yet, without any regard for these rules, without calling in the aid of any legal adviser whatever,' etc.

"The facts are these:—1. The Bishop never insisted that Mr. Long was bound by the rules established by the Synod. 2. Was not himself bound by the regulations as to the Consistorial Court established by the first Synod, for these regulations were suspended by the second Synod. 3. Did keep as close to them as was possible. 4. Did not act without calling in any legal adviser whatever. These facts were all either in evidence before the Judges, or mentioned in my speech, for copies of which they asked in Court.

"Lastly, they say that the sentence of deprivation was founded upon repeated acts of disobedience and contempt, instead of on the single charge which he was called upon by the citation to meet.

"In the citation of February 19th, Mr. Long was charged with repeated acts of disobedience, 'failing to render due Canonical obedience to your Bishop, continuing to discharge parochial duties, officiating and performing Divine service,' etc. These were continued for more than a month, and these were the repeated acts of disobedience on which the sentence was founded.

"I do not suppose that the proceedings carried on before a Bishop, *foro domestico*, are likely to be so conducted as to escape criticism, but I have no doubt substantial justice was secured in this case. It might be a mistake *in law* to regard Mr. Long's proceedings after his suspension as fresh faults; but I believe that the Church here generally concurred with me in regarding them as such. . . . The Court expresses its sympathy for me under the hardships of this case, and expresses its opinion that the difficulties by which I have been embarrassed are, in a great measure, owing to the doubtful state of the law, and the fact that Her Majesty professed to confer by letters patent power which she had no authority to grant; and they appear to think these difficulties will be in some measure removed by the decision which they have given. I trust it may prove so. I much fear, however, that they will be increased. . . . I remain, my dear Brethren, etc. R. CAPETOWN."

Some of the Bishop's more private letters express his mind fully at this trying period, and show with how keen a feeling he accepted what was certainly a severe blow:—

To EDWARD GRAY, Esq.

"Heidelberg, August 29th, 1863.

"My dear Edward—I had no time to write to you before leaving home. The judgment is in many respects a blow and a disappointment. It must unsettle this and other Dioceses. Had it been a sound and a just one there would not have been a cloud overhanging our future progress in Africa, for the Natal case would really, I believe, have strengthened the Church here. It makes my future very difficult, because of the principles which it lays down. It really, in effect, claims for the Privy Council the right to decide our faith as well as that of the Church of England, and encourages plainly the Bishop of Natal to go to it, and appeal against any purely spiritual sentence of the Metropolitan. I can never consent to put the Church of Africa and its faith under the heel of the Civil Courts, and let them decide for all future ages what shall be taught in our Churches, how much or how little of the deposit of the Faith we shall hand on to our children's children. Hence I foresee future troubles, struggles, suspensions, schisms. Looking forward to this, and believing that it is a compromise of duty to admit that a Civil Court *can* set aside a spiritual sentence of a Bishop of the Church, it was against my own conviction of what is right that I reinstated Long. I did so in deference to the views of others, dear S. Oxon among the rest.

"The judgment itself is a mean one; and all the more mean because it was expressly worded, as Lord Wensleydale wrote to Lord J. Thynne, so as not to let the Bishop of Natal escape. But it is more than mean—it is in many ways unjust. You would see in my letter to the churchwardens how the Judges have misstated facts on points which were most likely to carry people's feelings with them and against me. The *Guardian* takes those points up, and they are such as to cause distrust of me as a just man, and to weaken confidence in my manner of dealing with the Natal case. The errors as to fact are quite inexcusable, especially as there was no need to have touched upon the points, and they are only indicative of an animus.

"The judgment I consider a shabby one, because the Judges knew from this whole case that the real causes which led to these trials were—I. An utter repudiation on the part of Mr. Long of any jurisdiction on the part of the Bishop; II. An accusation, on his part, of the Bishop, on the ground that by summoning a Synod he had violated the supremacy of the Crown. It was to settle these, and other purely legal questions, as, *e.g.*, the value of the letters patent, that I consented to go before the Civil Courts. How do they deal with these great questions? They bring the laws and the constitution of the Church to restrict the Bishop's jurisdiction, and to reduce it as far as possible. But they neither affirm nor deny that those laws and that constitution place him in a certain relation to his Priests, and they to him. They evade anything like a recognition of the real laws and the constitution of the Church, upon which the whole case turned, and treat the matter simply as a question of contract between two individuals. And in doing this they seem to me to violate the very principle they lay down. Mr. Long takes an oath of canonical obedience. They truly say this does not bind him to obey the statute law of England regarding the Church; but the laws of the Church itself, so far as applicable here. Among these laws are those which bind the Bishop to summon his Synod, and the Clergy to attend it. But the Judges rule that Mr. Long was not bound to obey, because Synods have not been in use in England for 200 years. But we are not in England; and just as we are not bound to obey the State's laws which are not made for us, so are we bound to obey the Church's own laws, which were made for communions in our circumstances, and of which we feel the need.

"It is a monstrous thing to say that a Clergyman ordained in Africa, and expressly and solely for Africa, is not bound to obey the Church's laws, which are of infinite value to us in Africa, because in England the State has established the Church and governs it by Act of Parliament.

"But the Judges are not content with refusing to allow that the Church's Canons are binding upon her Priests who take the oath of canonical obedience. They take upon themselves to decide what is not the true constitution of a Synod. They affirm that the presence of the laity destroys its character. Now, to put aside the plain fact that it rests by the Canons with the Bishop to say whether any or what laity shall attend the Synod, they have throughout the Church's history actually been present. Did Constantine's presence destroy the character of the Synod of Nice? Did the presence of lay representatives at Trent destroy the character of that Synod?

"I hold that the decision is unjust to the Church, because by its laws Mr. Long was bound to attend the Synod, and to abide by its conclusions. But the meanness of this judgment is to be seen also in this, that having been expressly called to say whether the summoning of Synods was lawful or not, and being unable to declare them unlawful, they decline to pronounce them lawful, but pass the question by, saying, This was not really a Synod. My letter to the Churchwardens you have seen. I did not in it point out one thing which I thought very mean. The Judges wished to show that I held Mr. Long responsible to the Synod—bound to recognise it. They make nothing of my repeated statements from the very beginning that I had no wish to hold him as in any way bound by its decisions, or to be present at it if he did not like it; but they say that I sent him a copy of the acts and constitutions, evidently meaning to imply that I challenged his obedience to them. This is not true.

"I had printed the regulations as to the mode of conducting elections, which I forwarded to him, and sent them as my own instructions for the meeting, at which he was in no way called to be present. I called upon him merely to give the notice as *my* directions, not the Synod's. Another mean thing, I think, was to have wholly overlooked the fact that while the trial was going on before the Supreme Court I offered to withdraw my sentence if Mr. Long would—I. Recognise the Bishop's jurisdiction. II. Withdraw his charges of disloyalty to the Crown. III. And express regret for the same: and that he refused.

"I trace throughout this whole judgment a very decided animus. It will place us in great difficulty as to our future course. It will weaken—it is possible that it may break up—the Colonial Churches. It must be a fruitful source of dissension within them. One or two Clergy in a Diocese can almost defeat anything like corporate action. If I held a secular instead of a spiritual office, I would withdraw at once from the contest. But being what it is, I must bear the cross. I had looked forward to some rest and quiet and peace, after sixteen years of an Episcopate full of unusual labours and anxieties. This judgment will certainly lead to strifes which will not end in my time. Well, the end is not far off. May we, my dear brother, each be found faithful. I have nothing else to live for but my work. I have lived for nothing else, and at present defeat and disappointment are the result. Ever your affectionate, R. Capetown."

To the Rev. and Hon. Henry Douglas.

"August 30th, 1863.

"My dear Douglas—Many thanks for your affectionate and sympathising letter. The judgment is in many respects a sad one. It does not recognise the Church in the Colonies as a body. It treats us all, Clergy and laity, Priests and Bishops, as individuals, who may or may not contract with each other. It makes the laws which bind us in one communion go for nothing, and yet when it reviews the Bishop's proceedings it regards him as under these laws, and bound by them. It regards us as under an unknown quantity of English law, which it is in the breast of a civil Judge to apply in as large or as small a degree as he likes to us. It does not pretend to say that we are under the statute law of England; but it talks of the Bishop being only authorised to give instructions according to law. What law? I have always contended the law, Canon law, received and enacted by the Church. That law not only authorises, but enjoins him to hold his Synod, and the Clergy to attend it; and makes the Synod's rules the laws of the Church, and leaves at his option to invite the presence of the laity. On all these points the judgment really slights the law of the Church. They have not convinced me that by the laws of the Church (or even of the State in England) a Clergyman is not bound to give notices, at the discretion of the Bishop, which are not contrary to law. However, they are the interpreters of law, and I yield to their interpretation. There is, however, an animus in the judgment which is not creditable, and this I feel more than their decision itself, for it has led them to reflect unfairly upon my proceedings, and to misstate facts." [Here the Bishop refers to his letter to the Churchwardens of Mowbray explaining these facts.]

To the Rev. Dr. WILLIAMSON.

"Riversdale, August 31st, 1863.

"My dear Richard—It is not very easy to do more than one's actual work on Visitation, but I must write a line to thank you for your affectionate letters under my anxieties and troubles. The judgment has, of course, its good points among many evil. It could not but have without utter indecency. I think its great unfairness is that, professing to place the Church on the same footing with any other religious body, it really puts it on a worse, because it subjects it, which it does no other religious body, to an unknown quantity of English law, which lies in the breast of civil judges in England to diminish or increase *ad libitum*, as their prejudices or the state of public feeling may incline them.

"They ought to have stated distinctly whether—

"I. Any English statute law was to be applied to the Colonial Churches.

"II. Failing this, whether there were really any laws to which they were subjected.

"III. Whether the laws received or enacted by the Church of England previous to the formation of our Churches were not really the laws to which, and to which alone, we owed allegiance.

"I have always contended that this is our true position. The judgment does not offer to decide it. But when, wishing to press upon the Bishop, it affirms that he was restrained by law (it says not what law); and when, wishing to release the Priest, it says that he was not bound by law (it says not what law),—I contend that the laws by which we are bound—the Canon laws—are in the very teeth of this judgment. That the Priest is bound to obey the Bishop's order—that the Bishop is bound to summon his Synod, and that he may invite any of his faithful laity to be present at it, and counsel him. . . . To me personally the judges have been most unjust. They have striven to make me appear in the eyes of the public both a bungler in my proceedings, and unfair towards the accused, and unfit to have to deal with such a case as that of the Bishop of Natal, and they have effected this by a distortion and misrepresentation of the facts of the case. . . . Here the misrepresentations do no harm, for people know the facts, and I believe nearly the whole Church sympathises with me; but in England they are calculated to do harm; and they are to my mind an indication of that want of fairness and that dislike of spiritual authority which I think is strongly marked throughout this judgment. You will be glad to hear that Long is behaving well. The Churchwardens, who at my request have not thrown up their office, have first told him their view of his conduct, and then promised him their assistance in all in which they can conscientiously help him. Mann, Sir Thomas Maclear's son-in-law, a thorough Christian Churchman, is one of them."

To Mrs. Mowbray.

"George, September 8th, 1863.

"The more I consider the judgment of the Privy Council, the more discreditable does it appear to me, and I may add, to all thinking persons here. *Unfairness* is the impression which it has left, I think, upon the mind of the Church here. It will be most difficult to work the Church in the Colonies with such a document overhanging it. . . . Hatred of spiritual authority, a determination to keep the Church where it is not established in the same bounds as where it is established, are the chief features of this judgment. It speaks of settling questions, but it has done more to unsettle men's minds, to raise doubts, difficulties, disputes, than any step that has ever been taken with regard to the Church in my day. It makes the future of the Church very gloomy. Here Romanists and Dutch are chuckling over it, and taunting our members with our unfortunate position—with our highest Law Court refusing to recognise us as a Church, or as more than individuals who contract with each other. . . . But I might go on for ever. I believe a more grossly unfair decision was never given, or one more certain to be full of mischief to the most important religious body in all parts of the British Empire. They have done their best to break up the Church. We cannot now efficiently organise without Acts of Parliament, which is what they wish to drive us to; and Parliament here would not legislate for us if we wished. . . . I believe the general feeling throughout the Church here is *indignation.*"

To the Bishop of Oxford.

"The Knysna, September 11th, 1863.

"My dear Bishop—I heartily hope that your Swiss tour did you good. You never get real rest for the mind at Lavington, or elsewhere, in the way that you cannot but get it on the Continent. . . . I find the Clergy everywhere utterly disgusted, and the laity perplexed, by the Long judgment. All are offended not only at its unfairness to me, but to the whole of the Colonial Churches. I believe they mean to address me, but they hardly know what to do, for we are all at sea about the future. The more I think about it, the more indignant I feel at the so-called principles laid down. We had a right to be recognised as a body, as a branch of the Church not governed by the laws framed by the State for the Established Church in England, but governed by the laws which the Church herself had framed for her own government. That would have laid down principles. Then we had a right to be told that we had perfect liberty to meet in our Synods and accommodate ancient laws to present needs.

"Everything that could possibly hamper and impede the progress of the Church throughout the Empire has been done, and done out of jealousy and hatred of spiritual authority. I am very much troubled and perplexed as to the future. . . . What you say about the Privy Council line in the cases of Wilson and Williams is full of warning. Here are 10,000 Clergy calling upon their Bishops to put down a certain heresy, the Bishops in Synod condemning it. A lay judge tries whether it is heresy; says he is told all the Bishops declare it such, but cannot be governed by their opinion, however respectable; declares certain parts of the teaching, which the Church calls heresy, *not* to be heresy, other portions to be heretical; decides that the heretics shall be suspended for one year, and then being still heretics shall resume the cure of men's souls, and the office of ambassadors of Christ. Against this the heretics appeal to another Civil Court. Archbishops and Bishops are upon it. The lay Judges, against the views of the Bishops of the Church, decide that these heretics shall not be condemned, so they resume at once their office. Where is the faithfulness of the Church if they are allowed to do so? How is she a witness for Christ? I do not think that if I were in the position of my dear brother the Bishop of Salisbury, I could refrain from excommunication.

"But what is all this but a just punishment of the Church for allowing a Civil Court to decide upon questions of heresy? If you do not break down this, the Church must become a witness not for, but against, her Lord. . . . I shall take no step without much prayer. . . . The Bishop of Graham's Town is very hearty and very indignant at the judgment."

It is with a sense of soothing and comfort that amid this cloud we read the following letter from one whose words must always have carried strength and consolation to those to whom they were addressed. Mr. Keble writes:

"Hursley, November 8th, 1863.

"My dear Lord—I have long wished to say a word or two to you. Mr. Gray gave me a fair account of your health, and that you had not suffered so much from wakefulness as might be expected; but I wanted to say that although it is in many respects a deep grief and disappointment that your Long cause has come to such an issue, I yet have a sort of gratification in the thought that in any future battle you may have to fight for us, you will stand simply upon your Apostolical authority, unembarrassed by endowments and lay Synods, to which course I understand you to be invited by that passage in the Privy Council Judgment which proposes to recognise your inherent powers as Bishop, and virtually promises to uphold them. It seems unfortunate that the question in the Long case was—I daresay unavoidably—narrowed to his duty of publishing the notice of Synod when required. It seems to the popular eye but a small point on which to rest a case for deprivation. I presume that the *endowment* is the thing which enabled him to appeal to the civil power, and so far the case is a warning against acceptance of endowments. It does not seem that the English law, as set forth in this judgment, is against the plan adopted in the Synod, provided only that it be not enforced on persons who have not bound themselves to submit to it. I must own that I cannot admire the *tone* of the judgment, and think that it must have been drawn up under some strange misapprehension. The costs I do most deeply regret, and if they are to be taken at all as the measure of expense in appeals from you to us, they really seem to amount to a denial of justice, and will be an element some day in a South African independency move. . . . I have no time to write more than our affectionate and respectful love to yourself and Mrs. Gray.—I am, my dear Lord, your faithful and obliged servant in Christ, T. KEBLE."

Bishop Wilberforce's opinion on this judgment will be read with interest by all, and, though slightly out of chronological order, is given here.

To the LORD BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

"Lavington House, July 5th.

"I have been waiting to write to you when I received, as I have been constantly expecting to do, the Privy Council Judgment. It has now come, and the post goes. . . . I think that you were prepared for the result, the reversal of the decision of your Supreme Court. I do not affect to you not to be very much annoyed, though I think that Lord K.'s remarks accompanying the judgment will as far as possible deprive it of the effect it would otherwise have of injuring you. It is a great point that he should have said that the patent created such difficulties as probably could have been settled in no way without such a trial; and then your having the Supreme Court with you is a real justification to every reasonable man of your course. . . . For the future the judgment seems to me very valuable. It makes out how in every colony the whole question of our discipline is to be settled and asserted—*i.e.*, in free colonies by the grant of jurisdiction by the Representative Assembly, or by voluntary agreements to be afterwards enforced as voluntary agreements by the Colonial Courts. Then *you* will, I suppose, at the institution of any one, require him to sign a paper engaging to submit himself obediently to all rules which may be from time to time enacted by the General Assembly or Synod of the Church in Cape Town. Under the Privy Council decision obedience to such orders, after such voluntary agreement, would be enforced by the Courts. To apply this to the Colenso case seems to me easy and direct. He has taken the oath of canonical obedience to you;—this being a voluntary act he cannot question your jurisdiction; and if you proceed strictly on the line that the Metropolitan at home would have to do for trying him if he were his Suffragan Bishop under this sentence, it would seem clear to me that your judgment on him would be enforced by the Civil Courts. Since I came to this conclusion I have had a talk over the whole matter with Phillimore, and he quite agrees in this view.

"As to Long, I should be disposed to think that your statement to him and the Diocese should be, that the home Court having decided that, upon a point not of doctrine, but of *legal discipline*, his resistance to your authority could be justified,—you should mark in your conduct to him that in proceeding against him you were actuated by no personal feeling,—nor indeed could be;—but only by a determination at any cost to do your own duty in maintaining the discipline, the guardianship of which was placed in your hands; that the judgment of the Supreme Court in your favour, and the express declarations of the learned Judge who, on behalf of the Privy Council, gave sentence, show how difficult and perplexed was your course; but that, it having now been made plain, you were at once ready to give Mr. Long the fullest benefit of it, and to trust and believe that he would manifest in his future demeanour that it was from no contumacious spirit of opposition that he had acted in this matter."

At the risk of some repetition, it has seemed well to produce and keep together the progressive records of this case, so important in itself, although, as Mr. Keble observes, arising from a seemingly trivial cause, the real weight of which obviously was not understood at the time by the outer world, which accused (how unjustly those who knew him intimately alone could fully tell!) Bishop Gray of acting arbitrarily and from love of power.

END OF VOL. I.

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